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PREFACE

The Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasae[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop[2] or Il-Lumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masái or Wa-Kwayi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others.

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Másae (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 311).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Lumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikisi), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Lumbwa or Kip-sikisi are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Lumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwayi (*or* Kwapi) in Masai is countries *or* somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 349) that Maasae is derived from the Masai word 'masaa, property, and that Kwayi is a corruption of kafi, the Swahili for paddle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 796.

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INTRODUCTION

THE present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticize by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarize the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work.

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves.

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood), and equally clearly

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about 200 years.

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101 144 related to the Suk-Turkana and Nandi-Lumbwa[1]. Somewhat more distantly allied to the same stock are the inhabitants of South Kavirondo or Ja-luo. These races again show clear resemblances to some of the peoples who inhabit the banks of the Southern Nile, such as the Acholi, Bari, Latuka, Dinka, and Shilluk. The whole group are sometimes classed together as Nilotic, and have many peculiarities in common. Their [197] languages show a considerable, though varying, degree of affinity; physically they are tall, thin men, with features [142] which are not markedly negroid, and are sometimes almost Caucasian: several remarkable customs, such as the nudity of [516] the male sex and the habit of resting standing on one leg, are found among them all. The closest connexion seems to be between the Acholi and the Ja-luo, and between the Masai, Latuka, and Bari. The Masai, Nandi, Lumbwa, Suk, and Turkana all possess in a more or less developed form a military organization which obliges all the male population, between the ages of about seventeen and thirty, to submit to a special discipline and constitute a warrior class. A similar organization does not seem to be recorded among the tribes who dwell along the Nile[2]. These latter are not a homogeneous group, so that the word Nilotic must be used with caution. The Madi, who occupy a large portion of the country between Lake Albert and Gondokoro and extend well to the east of the river, are linguistically different from their neighbours, and apparently represent an invasion from the west, though in customs they do not seem to differ markedly from the Bari.

174 197 A glance at the map will show that from the Rift Valley to the Nile there runs in a north-westerly direction a broad belt of non-Bantu languages, more or less allied to one another, Masai, Nandi, Suk, Turkana, Karamojo, Latuka, Bari, and Dinka. The Karamojo appear to be Bantus who have been forced to accept an alien form of speech. This distribution of languages seems clearly to suggest a south-eastward movement from the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and 174 the Nile. The hypothesis is rendered more probable by the fact that in East Africa as elsewhere the course of invasions has been mainly from the north to the south. This is certainly

[1] The name Lumbwa is confusing. It is really a term of opprobrium applied by the nomadic warriors to agriculturalists of their own or allied races (not, apparently, to Bantus). Hence the 'L-Oikop are often called Lumbwa Masai. But the name is popularly and officially applied to a tribe closely allied to the Nandi who live to the south of the Nyando valley.

[2] Baker perhaps alludes to something similar among the Latuka whose young men, he says, live for fighting only.

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Naivasha province and 5,000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro. 161 175

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1830 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Gallas and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1850 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjámusi at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called 'L-Osigella or Segelli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1889, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Nairobi about 1890 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

175 648 [361] [731]

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Enjámusi, the Burkeneji, and perhaps the people of Samburu in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturalists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kaputiei (Kapite plains), En-aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and 'L-Aikipyak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

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claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

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Singular.	Plural.	English.
Ol-oisoto	Il-oisotok	The nail, claw.
Ol-oidolōki	Il-oidolok	The elbow.
El-lenywa	Il-lenyok	The long hairs of the tail of a wildebeest or zebra, &c.; the fan made of these hairs.

Examples of other words:

Ol-oiñgōni	Il-oiñgok	The bull, the strong man.
Eng-aji	Ing-ajijik	The family, hut.
Em-beneiyo	Im-benek	The leaf.
Ol-ñganaiyoi	Il-ñganaiyok	The fruit.
Ol-ōwaru	Il-ōwarak	The beast of prey.
E-mōdioi	I-mōdiok	The cow's dung.
Eng-are	Ing-áriak	The water.
Ol-mwoilaa	Il-mwoilak	The beetle.

Class IV.

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According to another rule which applies fairly regularly to a large class of substantives, the singular appears to be formed from the plural by adding *i* or *ni*[1]. Comprised in this group are the names of tribes, a few communities of people, most insects, some birds and small animals, and a number of words which were probably first known in their collective form. Examples of names of tribes:

Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-Ashumba	Ol-Ashumbai	The Swahili.
Il-Teñgwal	Ol-Teñgwali	The Nandi.
Il-Kōyu	Ol-Kōyuni	The Elgeyo.
Il-Uasin-gīshu	Ol-Uasin-gīshui	The Gwas Ngishu Masai.
Il-Kume	Ol-Kumei	The Turkana.
Il-Turkana	Ol-Turkanai	
Il-Kamasya	Ol-Kamasyai	The Kamasia.
Il-Kakesan	Ol-Kakesani	The Lumbwa[2].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	
Il-Oikop	Ol-Oikopani	The Lumbwa Masai[3].
Il-Lumbwa	Ol-Lumbwani	

[1] This construction is by no means peculiar to the Masai. In Persian, for instance, *i* is added to a word to mean one individual, e.g. zan, woman, zani, one particular woman; bacha, a child, bachai, one particular child; bar, time, bari, one time, once. [197]

[2] A tribe living near the Lake Victoria, whose real name is Kip-sikiai.

[3] The Lumbwa Masai, who call themselves 'l-Oikop, and who are often referred to by the Masai proper as 'l-Oogol-ala (the hard teeth), live in German East Africa extending as far south as Mpapua. Their language is almost identical with that of the Masai in British territory, the chief difference being the pronunciation of one or two letters, *k* being spoken like *gh*, *p* being pronounced *f* or *φ*, and the vowels being softened. There is also a tribe of people called 'l-Oikop (Leukop or Lukob) living at the south end of Lake Rudolf who apparently speak Masai. They were met by Teleki and Höhnel (*The Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie*) and by Wellby (*'Twixt Sirdar and Menelik*). [101] [197]

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Plural.	Singular.	English.
Il-ojoñga	Ol-ojoñgani	The fly.
Ing-ojoñga	Eng-ojoñgani	The mosquito.
I-samburumbur	O-samburumburi	The butterfly.
I-sarambalan	E-sarambalani	The bat, swallow, swift.

Examples of other words which belong to this class:

Il-airakuj	Ol-airakuji	The kidney.
Il-ala	Ol-alai	The tooth, tusk.
Ing-atambo	Eng-atamboi	The cloud.
Il-til	Ol-tili	The spark, stain.
In-gararai	En-gararai	The quill.
In-giporoi	En-giporoi	The scar.
In-guruoni	En-guruoni	The ash.
Il-keko	Ol-kekoi	The thorn, thorny place.
Il-kidoñgo	Ol-kidoñgoi	The tail.
Il-kililesñg	Ol-kililesñgi	The sheep's dung.
Il-kiyo	Ol-kiyoi	The tear.
Il-mao	Ol-maoi [1]	The twins.
Il-meneñga	Ol-meneñgani	The corpse, spirit.
I-mōsor	E-mōsori	The egg [2].
I-ñgok	E-ñgoki	The sin [3].
Il-ōkidoñgo	Ol-ōkidoñgoi	The mud.
Il-paek	Ol-paeki	The grain or cob of maize.
Il-pisya	Ol-pisyai	The chain.
I-seghera	O-segherai	The cowry.
I-seghenge	E-seghengei	The iron wire.
I-suut	E-suuti	The dust.
I-senya	O-senyai	The sand.
Il-tian	Ol-tiani	The bamboo.
Il-tuduta	Ol-tudutai	The boil, abscess.

Exceptions.

There are only a few exceptions to this rule. They are as follows:

Il-Maasae	Ol-Maasani	The Masai [4].
Il-Aisungun	Ol-Aisungui	The European [5].
Il-Musungu	Ol-Musungui	

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[1] Ol-maoi means a child who has a twin brother or sister. [845]

[2] A large egg-shaped cask used for beer, &c., is Ol-mōsori, pl. Il-mōsorin. [915]

[3] An unlucky child, or a dwarf, is E-ñgoki, pl. I-ñgokin.

[4] The original name of the Masai is said to have been Il-Maa (sing. Ol-Mái), and one even now occasionally hears old people using this word, especially when relating stories of former times. According to tradition the present form dates from the introduction by the Swahili traders of a certain kind of bead called 'Sae or 'Saen (sing. O-Saeni). [101] [777]

[5] Europeans, or white people, were formerly called 'L-ōjuju, the hairy ones. This appellation was afterwards changed to 'L-Ailungun, a corruption of the Swahili word Mzungu, which in its turn gave way to the present forms. [186]

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N-ē-jo lido: 'M-a-idim.'
And-he-says that-one: 'Not-I-am-able.'

N-e-rik añg, n-e-ipot il-lewa,
And-he-him-takes kraal, and-he-calls the-males,

n-e-igwen-a, n-ē-jo: 'l-oiye,
and-they-consult-together, and-he-says: 'The-friends,

kullo-lewa! a-iyē-u n-e-riny-ōki elle-tuñgani enna-beneiyo
these-males! I-wish and-he-returns-to this-man this-leaf

o-'l-kumbau e-wēji n-e-ita-u-nye,
of-the-tobacco the-place which-he-it-to-put-out-hither-caused (*or* took-from),

pa a-tum a-shōmo a-ti-pik-a[1] ninye eng-omon e-'n-gukuu
and I-get to-go to-put-in him the-face of-the-devil

opa n-a-ita-u-nye.'
formerly which-I-him-to-put-out-hither-caused (*or* took-from).'

N-ē-jo lido: 'M-a-idim a-inyia-ki.'
And-he-says that-one: 'Not-I-it-am-able to-return.'

N-ē-jō-ki 'l-kulikae: 'Ainyô-iye-pe
And-they-him-say-to the-others: 'What-you-and (*or* Why)

i-jō-ki ol-likae, "Ti-pik-a-ki e-wēji
you-said-to the-other-one, "Put-in-me the-place

n-a-iñgu-a," n-i-ta-la-ikĭ-ne
which-I-leave-thither (*or* come-from)," and-you-unable-were

sii 'ye a-ti-pik-a em-beneiyo e-wēji
also you to-put-in the-leaf the-place

ni-i-ndu-'ñgu-a!'
which-you-it-make-leave-thither (*or* bring-from)!'

Ōnaa, ol-o-inyia-ka a-irór-ie
Well, the-who-returned (*or* did-again) to-speak-with

ol-likae, n-e-nyor-u-no, n-e-it-urē-yu
the-other, and-they-love-will-one-another, and-he-make-fear-will

lido-karsis il-kulikae too-'ng-oloñgi enyena pôkin.
that-chief the-others during-the-days his all.

THE STORY OF THE DEMON WHO ATE PEOPLE, AND THE CHILD[2].

There was once upon a time a demon who was greatly dreaded by the inhabitants of the country in which he lived owing to his principal food being human beings.

[1] So that I can go and return him.

[2] A Taveta Tale. The people of Taveta are nearly allied to the Masai,

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*539 On one occasion he devoured a large number of people and cattle—so many, in fact, that he thought he had exterminated the whole tribe. One woman, however, succeeded in hiding herself with her child in a pit, and after the demon had taken his departure she returned to the kraal and collected together all the food that had been left there.

The child was brought up in the pit, and when he was old enough to understand, his mother told him the story of the demon. For some time he did not venture away from the hiding-place, but after a while he made a bow and some arrows, and went for a walk. He shot a small bird, which he took back with him to the pit, and asked his mother if that was the demon. On being told that it was not, he went out again and shot another bird, and after that a Thomson's gazelle. He continued his search for a long time, and shot all kinds of things in the hope of killing the demon, but when he showed them to his mother, he found that he had not been successful.

The woman repeatedly urged her son not to leave the pit as they were the sole survivors of the tribe, but the boy was determined if possible to shoot the demon. One day he searched for a number of arrows and spears which he took to the top of a tree. He then climbed with his mother into the tree and lit a fire in the branches to attract the demon's attention. When the demon saw the smoke, he was greatly surprised, as he thought he had eaten all the inhabitants of the country. Having procured some axes, he went to the spot, and called out to the child and his mother to descend. As they refused to comply with his order, he commenced to cut down the tree. The boy shot him twice with his arrows, but the demon only thought he was being bitten by gadflies. As the arrows continued to hit him, however, he had to give up his intention of cutting down the tree, and shortly afterwards he lay down to die.

When he felt that his end was approaching, he said to the child: 'When I am dead, cut off my little finger, and your cattle will be restored to you. Then, cut off my thumb, and you will get back your people. After that cut open my face, and one man will come out.'

Having said this, he died, and the boy descended from the tree and

● [101] [13] many of them being actually descended from that race. An account of their history and customs, by the author, was published in the *Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October, 1902.

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PART IV

'OROT OO-'L-MAASAE

DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

619 101 The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maasae, whilst their brethren are known as 'L-Oikop *or* Il-Lumbwa.

101 614 634 The Masai are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts, as shown in the following tables:

Clans.	Families[1].
'L-Aiser.	'N-Gidoñgi (the medicine-man's horns), Il-Ṗarkeneti (the counters?), Il-Lughumae, Il-partimaro.
Il-Meñgana.	'L-Aitayok, 'Siria (the designs?), Il-Marumae (the priers), Il-Makuperia (the flesh on the ribs).
Il-Mokesen.	Il-Mokesen-aate, Il-Ṗartalale (the long-sighted ones), Il-Tarōsero, Il-Kiporon (the scars?)[2], Il-Tanaṗ-ōwara (the lion-killers).
Il-Mōlelyan.	Il-Mōlelyan-aate, Il-Mamasita, Il-Ṗojos, Il-Kipuyōni, Il-Moshōno, Il-Masañgua, Il-Mokorere.

Whenever representatives of the four clans take part in a raid, it is usual to refer to the Aiser and Meñgana clans as 'L-oodo-kīshu (the blood-red cattle), and the Mokesen and Mōlelyan clans as 'L-oorook-kīshu (the black cattle).

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Districts.	Sub-Districts.
Kaputiei *or* Kaptiei.	'L-oodo-kilani (the blood-red cloths), Matapato, Il-kik-oonyokyo (the red trees[3]), Il-dala-le-kutuk (the fast talkers).
En-aiposha (the lake).	Ṗurko, Kinōkop (the burning country?), Il-damat, 'L-oita.
Kisongo.	Moipo (the Pangani River), 'M-baashi (the valleys), 'K-oonyokyo (the red soils), Em-bugboi (name of a tree[4] and light yellow), Il-launyi (the mistakes),

[1] Some of these families are again divided into smaller sub-sections.

[1911] [2] The members of the family called Il-Kiporon are said to be snake-charmers and rain-makers.

[3] *Embelia kilimandscharica*, Gilg.

[4] *Terminalia* sp.

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Districts.	Sub-Districts.
	'Mōwarak (the horns), Lo-'sokonoi (of the cassia tree), Kilepo (watering-place), Ol-osira (the-which-is-decorated), Naiñgaɛya-ōwarak (which astonishes the beasts of prey), Kipulul (place of many springs), 'N-gujuka (the axe handles), Ol-ñgelata (the plain between two hills), Sighirari, 'L-oita, 'Ng-orighaishi (the small stools), Ol-oitokitok (the bubbling spring), Il-Komōlo, Kitēto, Il-ketu-'m-beine, Salei.
'L-uasin-gishu[1] (the striped cattle).	'L-uasin-gishu oorook (the black striped cattle), 'L-uasin-gishu oonyokyo (the red striped cattle).
'L-Aikipyak[1].	Kimiri (pursuers), Marikōni, Il-meruesh-'n-dana (those who are not thrown down by roots), Sekin, Lo-'l-purkel (of the lowland), Le-naibor (of the white thing), Il-memonyōtu, 'L-alikinani, 'L-ooibor-oiñgok (the white bulls), Loo-dōtwarare, Il-marmar, Lo-'sekelae, 'L-aringon, Eng-añg e-Lema (Lema's kraal), Il-loijo, 'L-aisi.

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted if it follows a word ending in a vowel.

Alo 'N-aipoeha	I go to Naivasha.
Alo 'L-oitokitok	I go to Loitokitok.

The Masai reckon time by 'ages' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai ages is given in the words of the Masai themselves.

Eata 'l-Maasae 'l-porori lenye.

The Masai have what they call ages.

Memurati 'n-gera te-'wēji nēbo. Eduñg áitaa 'l-porori, metushuli áitaa ol-poror ōbo, amu merisyoro pōkin; emurati 'l-kituak, nepali 'l-ooti metubulu.

Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty).

Ore lekwa kituak ooiteraki aamurat nēji e-murata e-tatēne,

Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the

[1] Owing to cattle plague, disease, and civil wars, the Masai occupying the Uasin-gishu and Aikipyak districts have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

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ol-tōme ol-Torōbōni: 'Kodee o-rongai ?'

Nējo ol-Torōbōni: 'Maiyōlo.' Neiyōlōu ol-tōme 'njere: 'Etaaraki, negira ninye.'

Ore te-'n-gewárie, nesha eng-ai kitok, nelo ol-Torōbōni sirita en-giteñg enye, neitook il-turot le-'ng-are e-'ng-ai.

Netoni 'n-gumok-oloñgi, nēlu ol-tōme en-gerai.

Ore te-nenna-oloñgi nemuta 'ng-áriak too-'l-turot pōkin, neiñgwari ol-turoto ōbo ōtii eng-are.

Nelo ol-tōme ainos in-gujit. Ore pe erapōsho, nelōtu aok illo-turoto, neiperiperare, neiñgol eng-are, nējo terēu ol-Torōbōni en-giteñg enye p' eitook, nenyoriki aa torono eng-are.

Neitayu ol-Torōbōni em-bae, neñgor ol-tōme, nēā te-inne.

Neinyōtōto en-gerai o-'l-tōme, nelo likae-osho, amu etējo: 'Maboitare ol-Torōbōni, amu torono. Etaara ol-asurai, neitōki yēyo. Alo maitōki aboitare.'

Ore pe ebalki likae-osho, netum ol-Mái[1] ōbo. Nējōki ol-Mái: 'Kaji i'ñgua ?'

Nējo en-gerai: 'Aiñgua

the Dorobo where the thin one was.

The Dorobo replied that he did not know, but the elephant was aware that he had killed it and that he refused to admit his guilt.

During the night it rained heavily, and the Dorobo was able to take his cow to graze, and he watered it at the puddles of rain.

They remained there many days, and at length the elephant gave birth to a young one.

After a time all the puddles became dry except in one place.

Now the elephant used to go and eat grass, and when she had had enough to eat, she would return to drink at the puddle, lying down in the water and stirring it up so that when the Dorobo drove his cow to water he found it muddy.

One day the Dorobo made an arrow, and shot the elephant, and killed it.

The young elephant then went to another country. 'The Dorobo is bad,' it said, 'I will not stop with him any longer. He first of all killed the snake and now he has killed mother. I will go away and not live with him again.'

On its arrival at another country the young elephant met a Masai, who asked it where it came from.

The young elephant replied: 'I

[1] The Masai now call themselves il-Maasae (sing. ol-Maasani). The old name was il-Mae (sing. ol-Mái).

[101]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

il-kulikae inna-kumuto, nejiñg, nepwo el-lásóto oo-'ng-oloñgi tomon, nebaya el-bálbál le-'makat, nepuku te-inne-wiji, nemanyisho.

some of them saw this cave and entered it. They journeyed for ten days and eventually reached a salt lake, where they came out of the earth again and settled.

Ore lello ntji 'l-Lumbwa, neikununo anaa 'l-Masaaa, kake eata 'n-gurman.

These people are the Lumbwa, who in appearance are like the Masai, but they till the earth[1].

[1] The Lumbwa Masai reside partly near the Natron and Manyara Lakes. Their settlements are called 'n-gurman or plantations.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

II – TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND OTHER SOCIAL ELEMENTS OF THE MASAI

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The name Masai covers a group of related tribes in British East Africa. The linguistic classification of BRYAN (see Bibl.) distinguishes five Masai tribes:

1. *The Samburu*, north east of Lake Baringo, in the Rift Valley and Northern Frontier Provinces of Kenya. They are sometimes called Burkeneji, a derivative from *il-loo-lkoor-keneji*, the people of the white goats. They are pastoral. We know very little of their social organization as they have never been studied on the field.

2. *The Njamusi or Njempa*. They live close to Lake Baringo, and are mainly agricultural. DUNDAS,[1] states that " they are survivors of a Samburu tribe called Il Digio ". What we know of the Njamusi is practically limited to the fact that they exist.

3. *The Kapiti or Kaputiei*. They live mainly in Kenya around Narok, Ngong and Kajiado. Some are found in Tanganyika. All are pastoral. HOLLIS' standard work on the Masai refers mainly to this tribe.

4. *The Kisongo*, found mainly in Tanganyika around Loliondo and Mondul. There are a few in Kenya. All are pastoral. The other standard work on the Masai by MERKER describes, for the most part, the Kisongo.

5. *The Lumbwa*. The name means " farmers ", and is correctly applied only to the agricultural Masai. It is wrongly used also for the Kipsigis. The Lumbwa are found mainly in Tanganyika near Lake Natron, Lake Manyara, and around Arusha and Mt. Meru. They are called by the other Masai *Il-Oikop*, a name of despisal.[2]

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According to BRYAN and TUCKER, all these Masai tribes are linguistically distinguished by " very slight dialectal differences ".

[1] DUNDAS, *The Wamasapa and other Tribes of the Elgon district, British East Africa* in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1913, p. 80.

[2] There are other names which do not indicate any special tribe, such as Il-Arusha, applied to the Masai living in or around Arusha. They are called Wa-Arusha by the neighbouring Bantu. Meru is the name for the Masai living on the slopes of Mt. Meru. They should be distinguished from the A-Meru of Kenya, Central Province. Kwafi is the Swahili term for the Masai, but it is especially applied to the Lumbwa of Kilosa District in Tanganyika. We may add that the Kikuyu and the A-Meru speak of the Masai (Matkai, Matau, respectively) as Okabi.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Maasai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai.

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[1] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[2] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[3]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njempe 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168.

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony.

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made

[1] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 201.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 197.

[3] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 12, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were *not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the* north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony. [1]

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A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

[1] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Masainda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

In December 1950. I visited the Ndigirri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 50 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

these sections is evidenced at a superficial level by the adoption of a common tribal name. But members of a major section are more closely bound by their social, ceremonial and military relationships based on their common age-system. FOSBROOKE,[7] who did not consider the major territorial section as a unit of Masai territorial organisation, tries to explain as follows the Kisongo major section: "the majority of the Masai in Tanganyika regard themselves as Kissongo, but Kissongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon".[8] See: below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation. The early fieldresearchers, MERKER and HOLLIS, recorded the major territorial sections which they calle 'Provinzen' and 'Districts', respectively. MERKER,[9] gave their number as three: Kisongo, Loita and Ol Bruggo. HOLLIS,[10] counted five: Kaputiei (Kapite plains) En aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (south and West Kilimanjaro), Uasin Gishu and 'L-Aikipiak. He noted that the last two had practically ceased to exist. The point is also confirmed by S. L. HINDE.[11] The term *en-gop*, pl. *in-gwapi*, which HOLLIS translates as "the land, the country", seems to apply to these major sections. Their number corresponds, at present, to the linguistic groups we have reported.

The minor territorial section has been made the subject of special analysis by FOSBROOKE. He defines it as "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exlusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oishon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular *laibon*, and in performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers".[12]

The absence of definite geographical limits and the stress on water and grazing rights have been noted. The *laibon's*, or prophet,

[7] FOSBROOKE, *An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System*, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, p. 9.

[8] See below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation.

[9] MERKER, *Die Masai: ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes*, Berlin 1904, p. 8.

[10] HOLLIS, *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, pp. 260, 290.

[11] HINDE, *The Last of the Masai*, London 1901, pp. 91, 97.

[12] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 7 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

634 791 position in connection with the nature of the major and minor territorial sections is questionable. FOSBROOKE has put into evidence the marginal significance of the *laibon* for Masai social organisation. He has also shown how wrong it is to ascribe to the prophet's institution a political function. The prophet can only obtain a personal political influence which is his, and not of his office. Now, to describe the *laibon's* institution as the point of allegiance of territorial sections' members is tantamount to making the prophet a central political authority which he is certainly not. The important point in the nature of the territorial sections is members' consciousness of their strength and sufficiency as to be entitled to keep tribal ceremonies of their own.[13] In studying the Laitayok minor section FOSBROOKE brings that home: "in some areas they (the Laitayok) have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually they came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own". FOSBROOKE insists on the fortuitous origin of the territorial minor sections. The point becomes obvious if the nomadism of the Masai and the abselce of any centralised authority are kept in mind. People remain in a definite place only for as long as [221] they find good grazing and water for their cattle, but they move as soon as these fail, thus breaking up their territorial allegiance.

634 101 619 The following is a tentative list of minor territorial sections deducted from the literature:

SAMBURU.	1. Pusigishu	4. L'Orogishu	7. Longeli
	2. Masola	5. Doiju	8. Nyabarei
	3. Lukumai	6. Mwesi	9. Loimusi
NJAMUSI.	According to DUNDAS,[14] there are only two villages: Njemps Kubwa or Njemps Liabori – down stream; and Njemps Ndogo or Njemps Lekepir – up stream.		
KAPITI.	1. Kaputiei or Kapiti	3. Ladokilarsi	6. Purko
		4. Kakonyuke	7. Loita
	2. Damat	5. Dalalakotok	8. Matapatu

[13] One should note here that tribal ceremonies are ceremonies connected with the institution of age-sets, a fact wich sleds light on the integrating power of the age-system. See BERNARDI, *The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples*, in *Africa*, 22, 1952, pp. 316 ss.

[14] DUNDAS, *Notes on the Tribes inhabitating the Barine district*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1910, p. 49.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON, [15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself.

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange. [16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE, [17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner.

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

AN ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL HISTORY

OF THE

MASAI RESERVE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND TRIBAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MASAI.

Peculiar policy necessary in dealing with the Masai—Why this peculiar policy is necessary—The tribal formation of the Masai—Social system of the pastoral section—"L-Ayok"—"Muran"—The effect of the military organization—The medicine-men—The Laibon—The Masai as a stockman—Employment of the Muran—Masai conservatism respecting cattle—Councils of Elders—Crime in the Masai Reserve—Divisions—Masai Council—The Tribal Divisions—Purko—Loita—L'Otayok—Salei—Siria—Il Damat—Kakonyukye—L'Odo Kilani—Ngurumas—Matapatu—Sighirari of the Engidongi—Il Dala Lekutuk—Kaputiei—Sighirari of Laitokitok—Wandorobo—Il-Kunono—Recapitulation.

Peculiar policy necessary in dealing with the Masai.

WITH a view to the better understanding of the steps which have already been taken and of the policy which has in the past been pursued in dealing with the Masai situated within the limits of the East Africa Protectorate, it appears desirable, in the first instance, to recapitulate concisely the facts which have at various times been recorded on the subject of their tribal characteristics and peculiar organization, attributes which have rendered it impracticable to carry out in their case the policies which have been adopted in dealing with the majority of other tribes in the Protectorate. These policies, established and maintained for the most part by the senior administrative officers in each Province, have undoubtedly not been uniform, but they have to a large extent achieved the result which is noticed in the majority of the native administered areas to-day, of developing the native inhabitants of the Province into useful agricultural labourers fit for residential work on European farms and available for duty on works of public utility, and they have also, by maintaining the system of self-government recognised by each tribe, produced within the reserves, a type of native so well under control that the demands of the military authorities, large though they were, for natives to serve as porters in German East Africa were met from these Provinces without disturbance of any kind, in spite of the fact that compulsion had to be resorted to and that the work was unpopular, and, furthermore, they have so developed the system of native administration that the majority of the porters so recruited were obtained by the native authorities themselves without the aid or intervention of the European administrative officers. The Masai were among the first tribes which came into contact with the administration but their conservatism has been so great, and their subservience to antiquated tribal custom and tradition has been so powerful that it has proved impossible as yet materially to alter and renovate their ideas.

Why this peculiar policy is necessary.

The Masai are a Nilotic people, closely allied to the Nandi and Lumbwa and to the Suk and Turkana. In common with those other four tribes, they possess a form of military organization which obliges all the male population between the ages of about seventeen and thirty to submit to a special discipline and to constitute a warrior class. It is, however, impracticable for the purpose of policy to compare the Masai with either the Suk or the Turkana, which tribes have only recently come into touch with the Administration, and a comparison with the Nandi and Lumbwa, Buret and Sotik, discloses a position markedly unfavourable to the Masai. Though none of these former tribes has definitely

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discarded their old formations, adversities of various descriptions have introduced the necessity of undertaking manual labour in portions of each reserve and a succession of punitive expeditions or displays of force, the last of which occurred some ten years ago, has brought home to them a conception of the power of the Government, a realization which has tended towards a more progressive attitude owing to the diminution which it caused in their minds of the influence held by their medicine-men. No punitive expedition has ever been undertaken against the Masai, an omission which was very largely due to the authority and sagacity of Lenana, the chief medicine-man at the time when the European Government was first encountered, who survived long enough to keep his people in check until such a degree of administration had been effected as to render the despatch of a punitive expedition a measure that would only be resorted to in the last extremity. Further, the Masai now thoroughly realize how vulnerable they are if ever they come into armed conflict with the Government. Their enormous, immobile herds would immediately be lost and a sufficient degree of punishment could quickly be attained. For this reason, it is extremely improbable that they will, of their own initiative, so far forget what they consider to be their best interests as to cause a serious disturbance. The escape from punitive expeditions, however, has undoubtedly been a factor in the perpetuation in their original form of the Masai ideas and traditions.

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The tribal formation of the Masai.

As will be seen in Chapter II., the Masai tribe originally consisted of both pastoral and agricultural sections, of which the latter was almost annihilated by the former and survives at present only in one or two scattered localities, mainly in areas reserved for other tribes. A small section of these agriculturalists, the Nguruman, is to be found at the north end of Lake Natron, but that is the only trace of them in the present Masai Reserve, and these people now show a tendency to assume the habits and customs of the pastoralists. The problem presented in the administration of the Masai is therefore almost exclusively concerned with the pastoral section.

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Social system of the pastoral section. "'L-Ayok." "Muran."

According to the social system of this section, the male sex is divided into boys, warriors and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed approximately between the ages of thirteen and seventeen. These boys are called "'L-Ayok." After circumcision, they become warriors, or "Muran," those who have been circumcised at about the same time being said to belong to the same age. The "Muran" remain on the fighting strength of the tribe for periods varying from seven to fourteen years, during which period they constitute a standing army. They are divided into Companies, or "Sirita," which live in separate villages, or "Manyattas," some of these containing as many as six or seven hundred fighting men. With few exceptions, the "Muran" of the present day perform no work of any kind. In days gone by, they were expected to carry out raids and preserve the armed prestige of the tribe, but the introduction of the "Pax Britannica" has deprived them of such employment, and they, having found no alternative occupation, are content to remain in idleness and to live in the state of free love with immature girls which tradition prescribed as the duty of the warrior in the days of tribal warfare.

The effect of the military organization.

This military organization of the Masai made them, in the past, a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the Kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been regarded as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.*

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* Sir Charles Eliot, November, 1904, Introduction to "The Masai: Language and Folklore," by A. C. Hollis.

Chapter II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE MASAI.

Origin of the Masai—Pastoral and Agricultural sections—Settlements of 'L-Oikop—Sir Charles Eliot's theory—European influence—Wakwavi—Early history of the Masai—The Masai as a power—Masai raids—Rebmann's visits to Chagga—Dr. Krapf—Dr. Krapf's descriptions—Discovery of the source of the Nile—Dr. Fischer's tour to Naivasha—Mr. Thomson's journey through Masailand—Count Teleki's expedition—Mr. Jackson's journey—Dr. Peters—Masai and modern firearms—Decline of Masai power—A Masai raid—Cattle plague—Small-pox—Relations between Masai and Wakamba—Machakos Station—Ngong—Dagoretti—Relations between Masai and Kikuyu—Mr. George Wilson—Sack of Dagoretti—Trading treaty—Fort Smith—Masai hostile—Meeting at Muthaiga—Uganda Railway survey—Debates in the House of Commons—Position of the Masai in 1895—Removal to Ngong—Protectorate over Uganda—East Africa Protectorate—Kedong Massacre—Mr. Andrew Dick—Lenana's first visit—Sir Arthur Hardinge's report—Sir Charles Eliot's report—Inclusion of Uganda Provinces in East Africa Protectorate—Uganda Railway—Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1903—The year 1903-1904—Conclusion.

173 **Origin of the Masai.**

Little is known of the early history of the Masai tribe, but it seems to be an established fact that the original home of this people was the country between the north of Lake Rudolf and the Nile, from which area the Masai are said to have moved in a south-easterly direction so long ago that tradition does not recall any incidents of the exodus, nor the reason therefor.

101 173 **Pastoral and agricultural sections.**

It seems, also, that there were two distinct sections of the Masai, distinct in point of habits of life and customs, though not of language or ancestry, between which sections continual war was waged, wars which now form the greater part of the traditional history of the tribe as it is known at the present day to its members. The sections are usually defined as the agricultural and pastoral sections, the former, known as 'L-Oikop, being more or less settled, while the latter was entirely nomadic, and never practised agriculture in any form. Masai tradition does not extend back for more than one hundred years, but the history of that century shows, to the exclusion of all other topics, a conflict between these two sections, which resulted in the practical annihilation of the 'L-Oikop, who have now ceased to exist, with the exception of small settlements found at Nguruman, to the north of Lake Natron, two villages, Great and Little Njempa, to the south of Lake Baringo, possibly the so-called Uasin Gishu Masai, now located near Eldama Ravine, and in Kavirondo country, and certain individual settlements of Masai among neighbouring tribes, where they have assimilated the customs and adopted the language of their protectors, and from whom it is now difficult to distinguish them.

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Settlements of 'L-Oikop.

174 114 **Sir Charles Eliot's theory.**

The theory suggested by Sir Charles Eliot, is that the nomad pastoral state cannot be assumed to be primitive or very ancient, and that it is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin Gishu plateau, from which the more adventurous of the warriors detached themselves.

177 **European influence.**

It is this conflict which made the Masai name what it was and which has rendered so complex the question of the administration of the conquering pastoral section. The victors depended entirely on cattle for their means of subsistence, and were driven to raiding other tribes, in order to amass sufficient herds of cattle. The introduction of the European element, therefore, deprived the Masai of their one pursuit, and had the inevitable result of reducing the Masai from the first to a very low rank of economic importance among East African tribes.

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101 **Wakwavi.**

The term Wakwavi (Wakuafi of Krapf) is frequently used by the early writers in reference to the Masai, but it appears that this term has, in fact, no connection with the agricultural section, being merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places.

"The expansion of the tribe," writes Sir Charles Eliot, "seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century. About 1830, they reached their furthest recorded point in the south, and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe . . . . . About 1850, the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf . . . . . Somewhere about the same period . . . . . the Masai dwelling on the Uasin Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjamusi, at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called 'L-Osigella, or Segelli, took refuge in the Nyando valley, but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa."

Early history of the Masai.

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The same writer says:—"From at least 1850 to the early eighties, the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance." The record of Masai raids is much more complete as it affects the eastern part of their territory than on the west. This is readily understandable on account of the records having been made by Europeans, who obtained their information from the east coast, and not by wanderers from Uganda: but it also appears probable that the Masai found their expeditions eastwards to be more remunerative and less costly than any they might undertake on the west, for it has never been contended that the Nandi and Lumbwa, their western neighbours, were not at any time of their history a match, or more than a match, for the Masai. About 1859, the Masai raided Vanga; in August, 1865, they were in the Galla country near Mtanganyiko: and again, early in 1867, they were raiding on the Tana River, near Wachu: the Gallas would retreat to Ramo in times of war with the Masai as, that place being surrounded by water, it was considered immune from Masai attack. In August, 1876, the Masai were at Ribe, whence all natives fled to Mombasa, while six years later, they again raided the same locality, on this occasion visiting the Mission station, and killing two of the native converts. In 1883, they raided Saadani, on the coast opposite Zanzibar, whence they were repulsed with guns, and these exploits were followed by two raids on the Mission station of the United Methodist Free Churches Mission, at Golbanti, on the Tana River, in the first of which, in March, 1886, two native Christians were killed, and in the second, on May 3rd of the same year, the two resident missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Houghton, shared the same fate. As late as 1889, the Masai raided within sight of Mombasa Island. The result of these constant raids was that all inhabitants were driven from the more exposed portions of the coast belt, that the Giriama were prevented from keeping large herds, and that Galla settlements on the southern Tana totally disappeared.

The Masai as a power.

Masai raids.

Probably the first European who made the acquaintance of the Masai, was Mr. Rebmann, the colleague of Dr. Krapf, who visited Chagga country on three occasions: and Dr. Krapf, who himself toured in Ukambani in 1848 and 1849, gives a description of "The Wakuafi and Masai Tribes" in his book "Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours, &c.," published in 1860. The following extracts are taken from this description as giving the early impressions created by the tribe in the mind of this European traveller.

Rebmann's visits to Chagga. Dr. Krapf.

"The Wakuafi and Masai," writes Dr. Krapf, "who call themselves 'Orloikob,' or 'Loikob,' 'loigob,' . . . . . , that is, possessors of the land, ... , occupy large plains in the interior of Eastern Africa, which extend from about two degrees north of the Equator to about four degrees south of it. The names 'Wakuafi' and 'Masai' are given them by the tribes of the coast. . . . . Their manner of life is nomadic, and where they find water and grass, there they encamp often for months together. They live entirely on milk, butter, honey, and the meat of black cattle, goats and sheep, and on the game which they hunt down: having a great distaste for agriculture, believing that the nourishment

Dr. Krapf's description.

[101]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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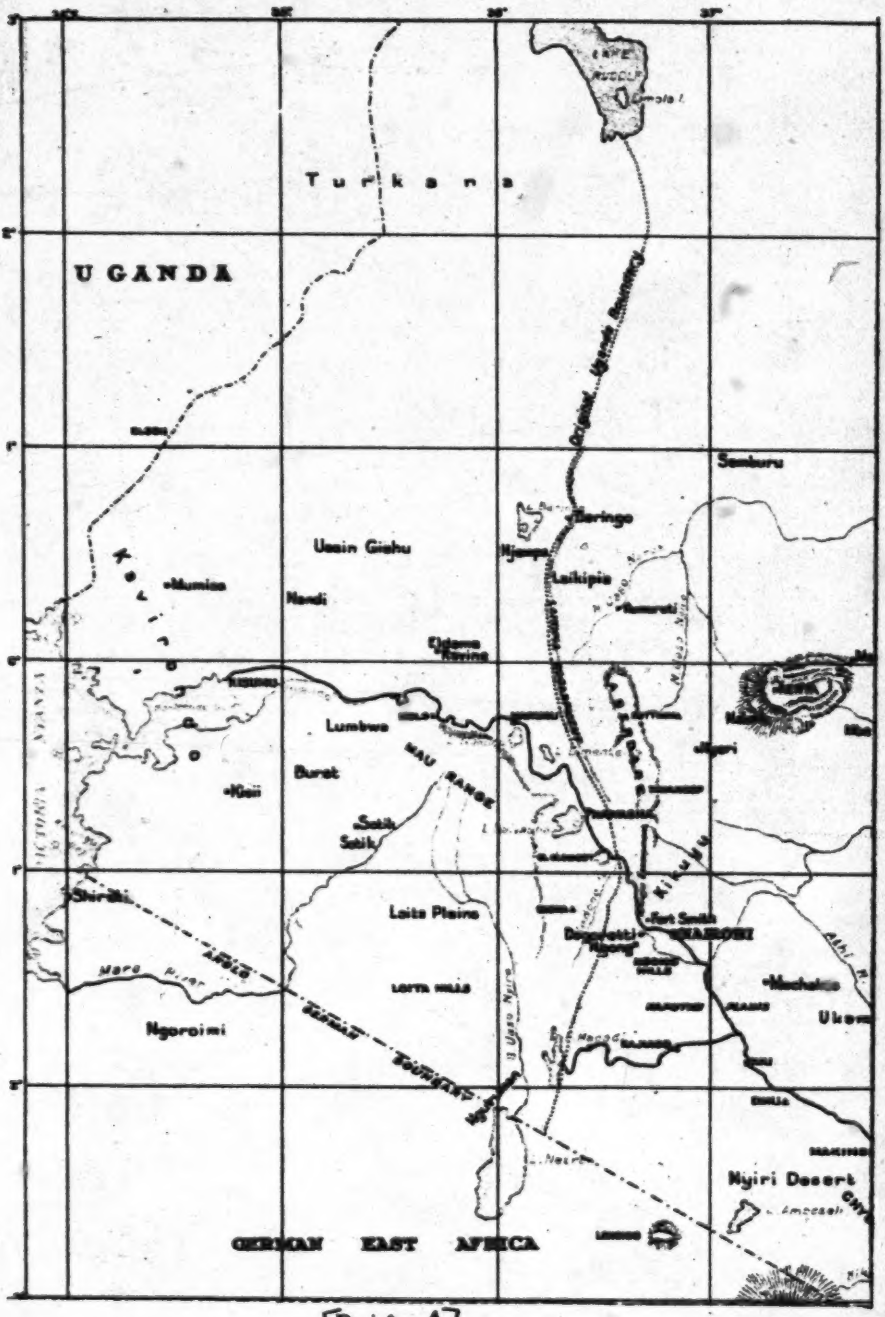

[P. 10-A]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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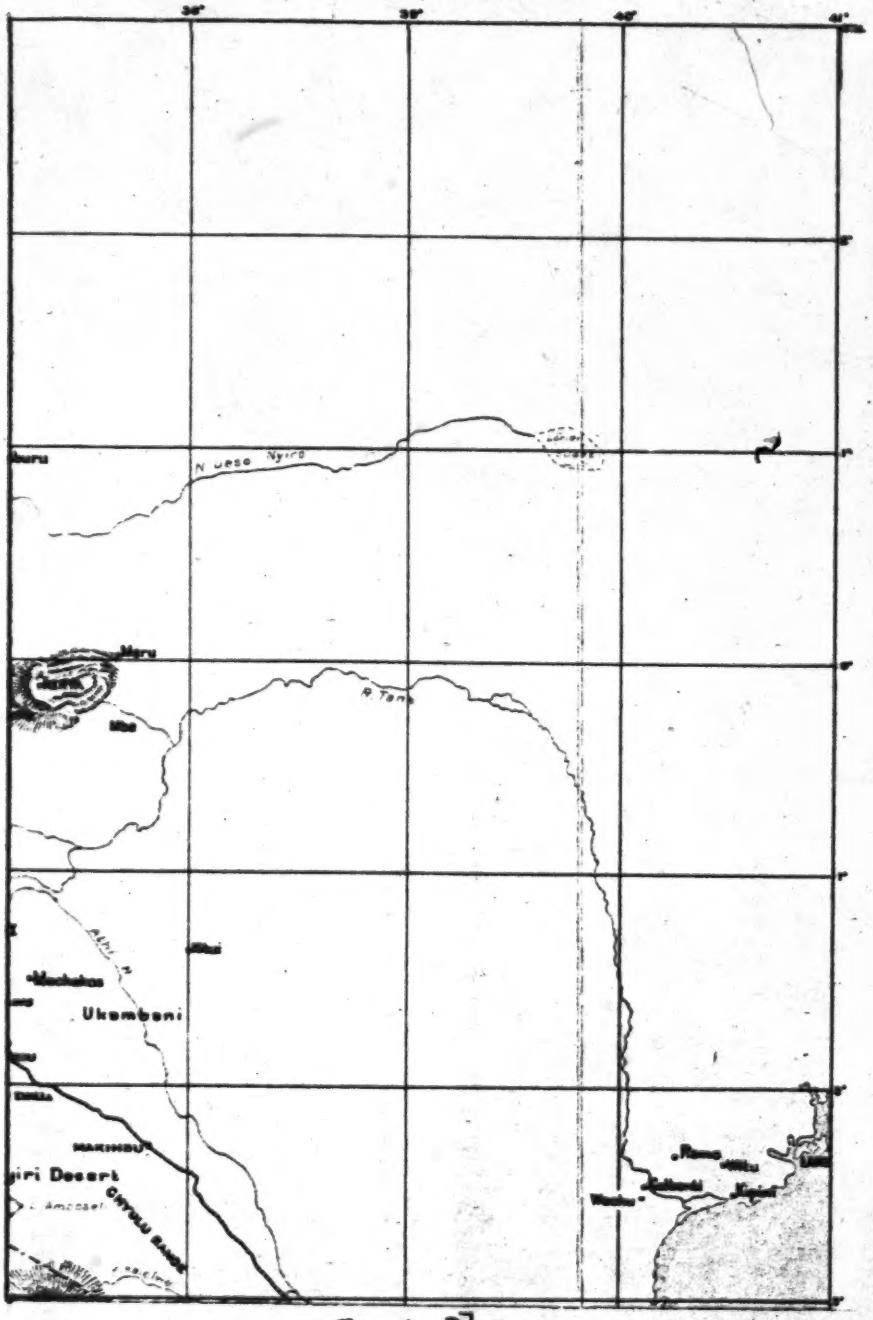

[P. 10-B]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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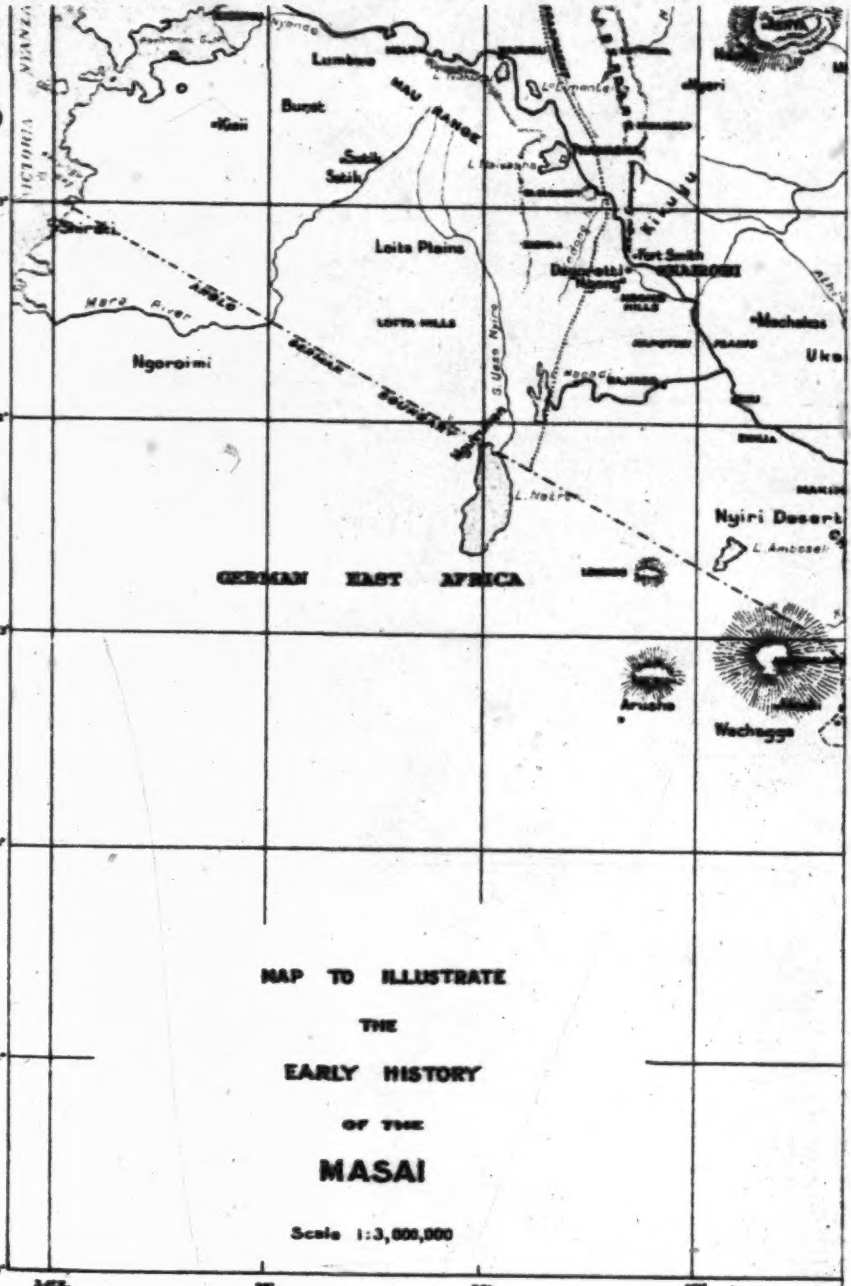

[P. 10-C]

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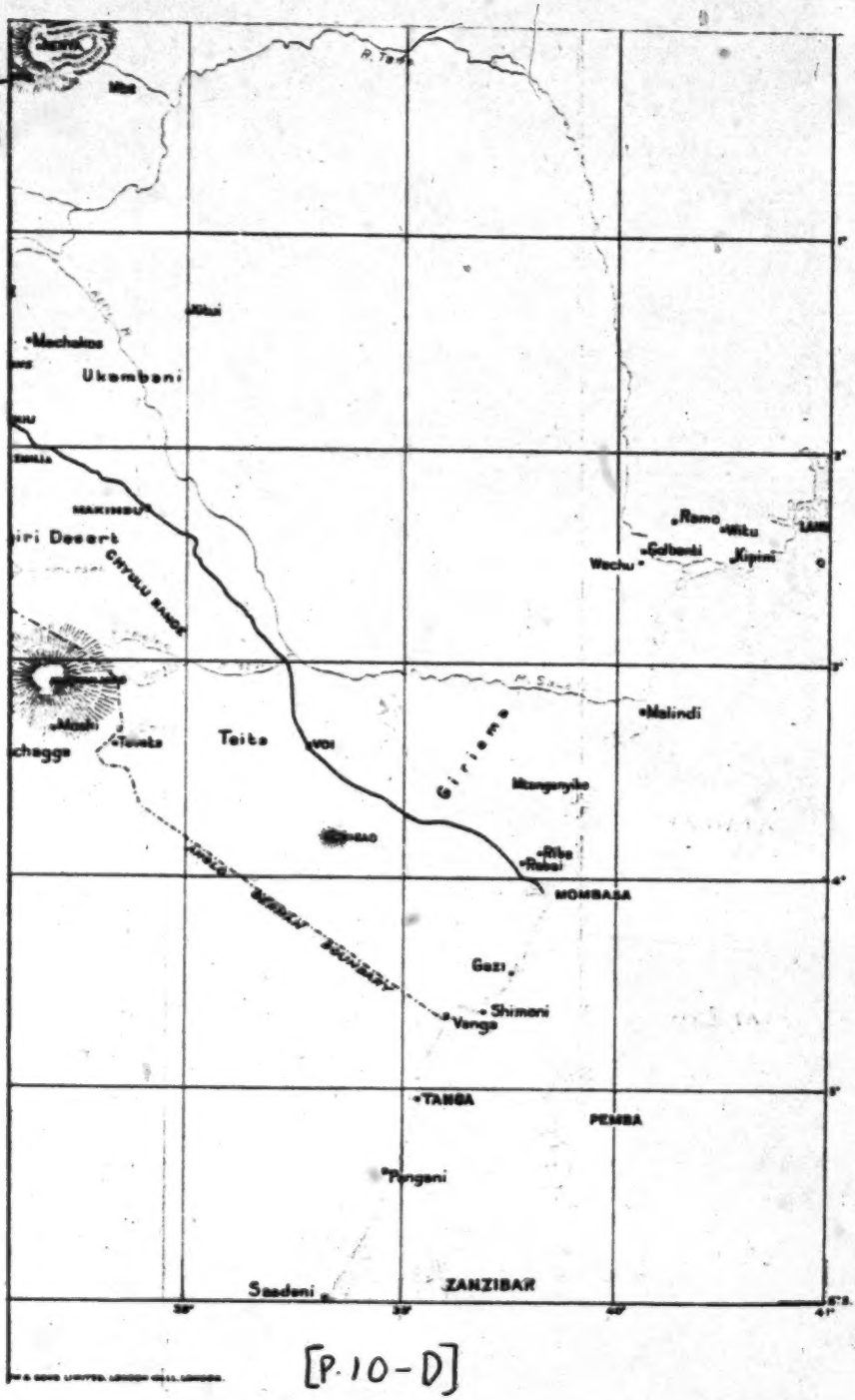

[P.10-D]

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FL12 Masai FL12

P. 10-A	P. 10-B
P. 10-C	P. 10-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 10]

[P. 18-A]

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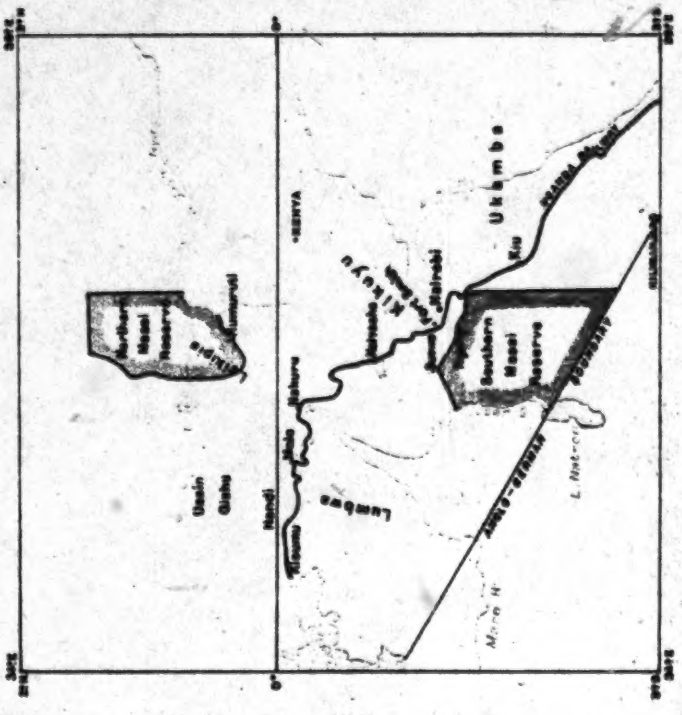
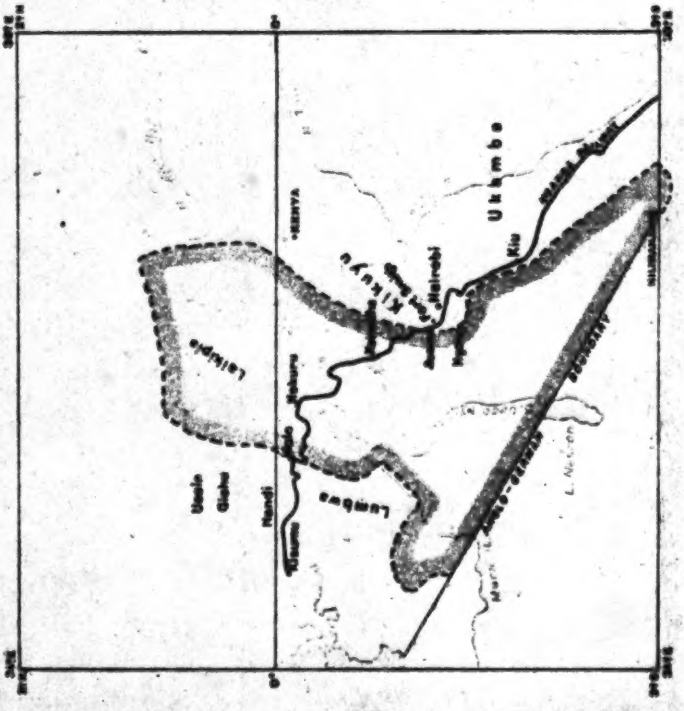
1904.



1890.



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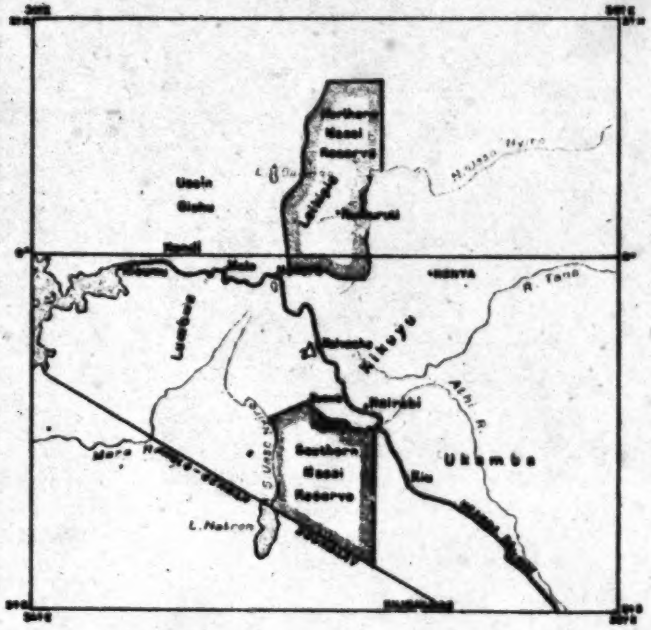
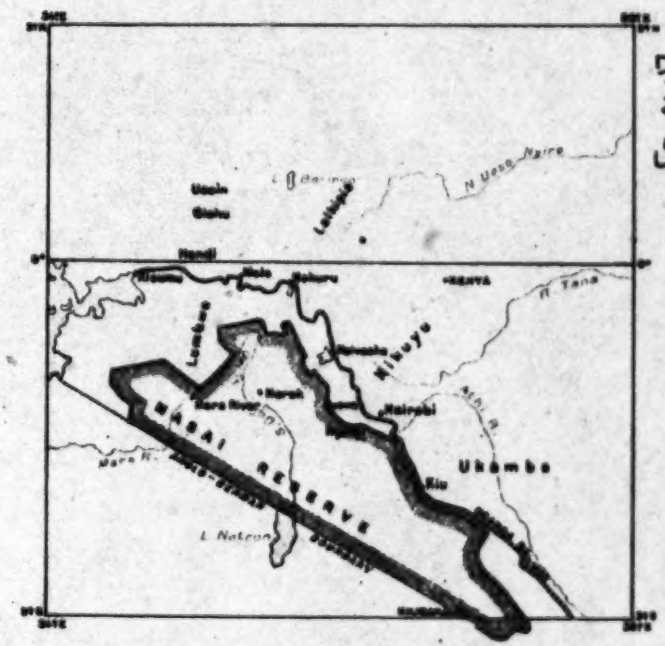
4: Sandford C-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 19-B]

1906.



1916.



DISTRIBUTION OF THE MASAI IN THE EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE.

4: Sandford
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FL12 Masai FL12

P. 74-A	P. 74-B	P. 74-C	P. 74-D
P. 74-E	P. 74-F	P. 74-G	P. 74-H
P. 74-I	P. 74-J	P. 74-K	P. 74-L

/Chart of positions of map facing p. 74/

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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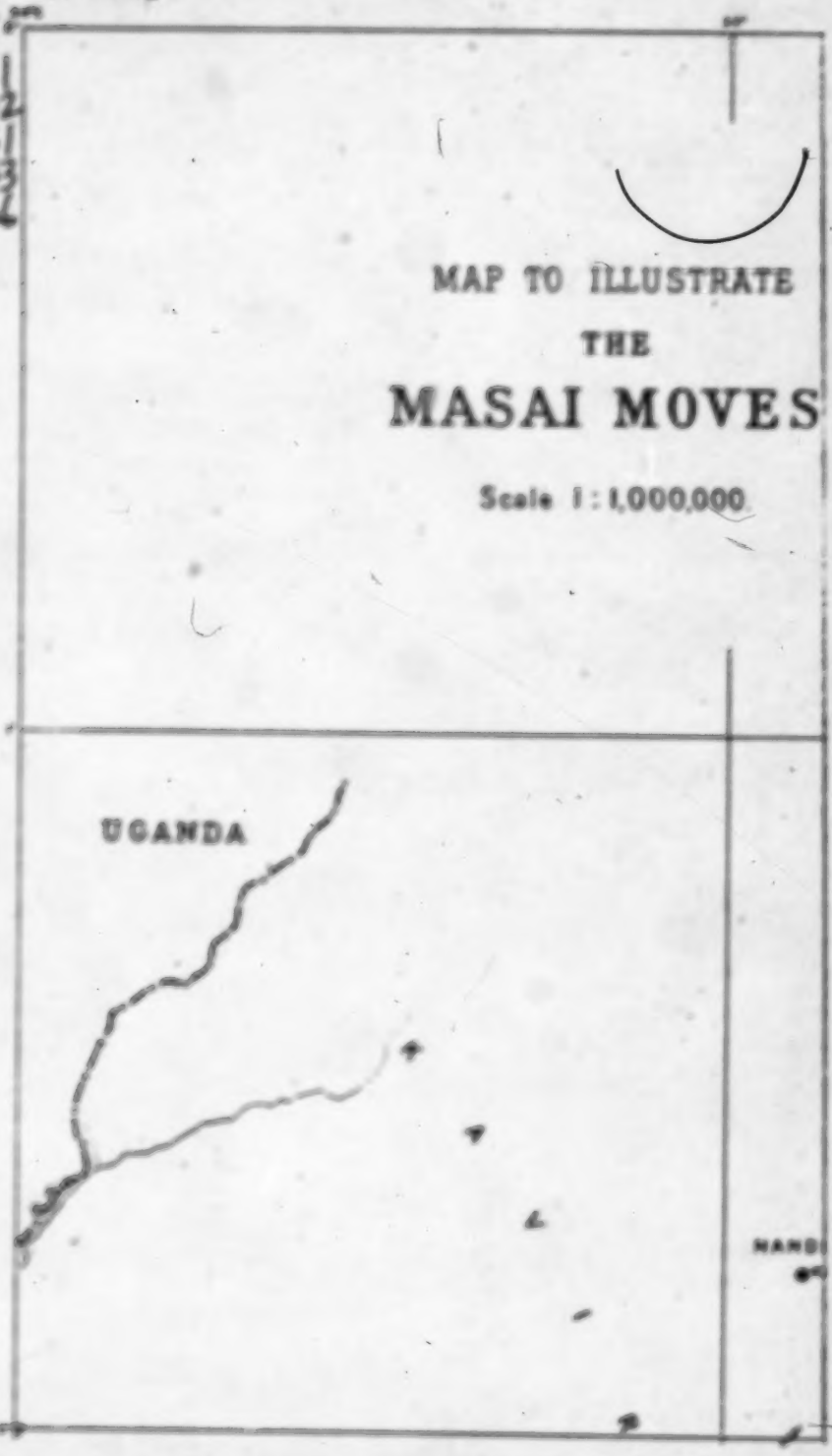

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
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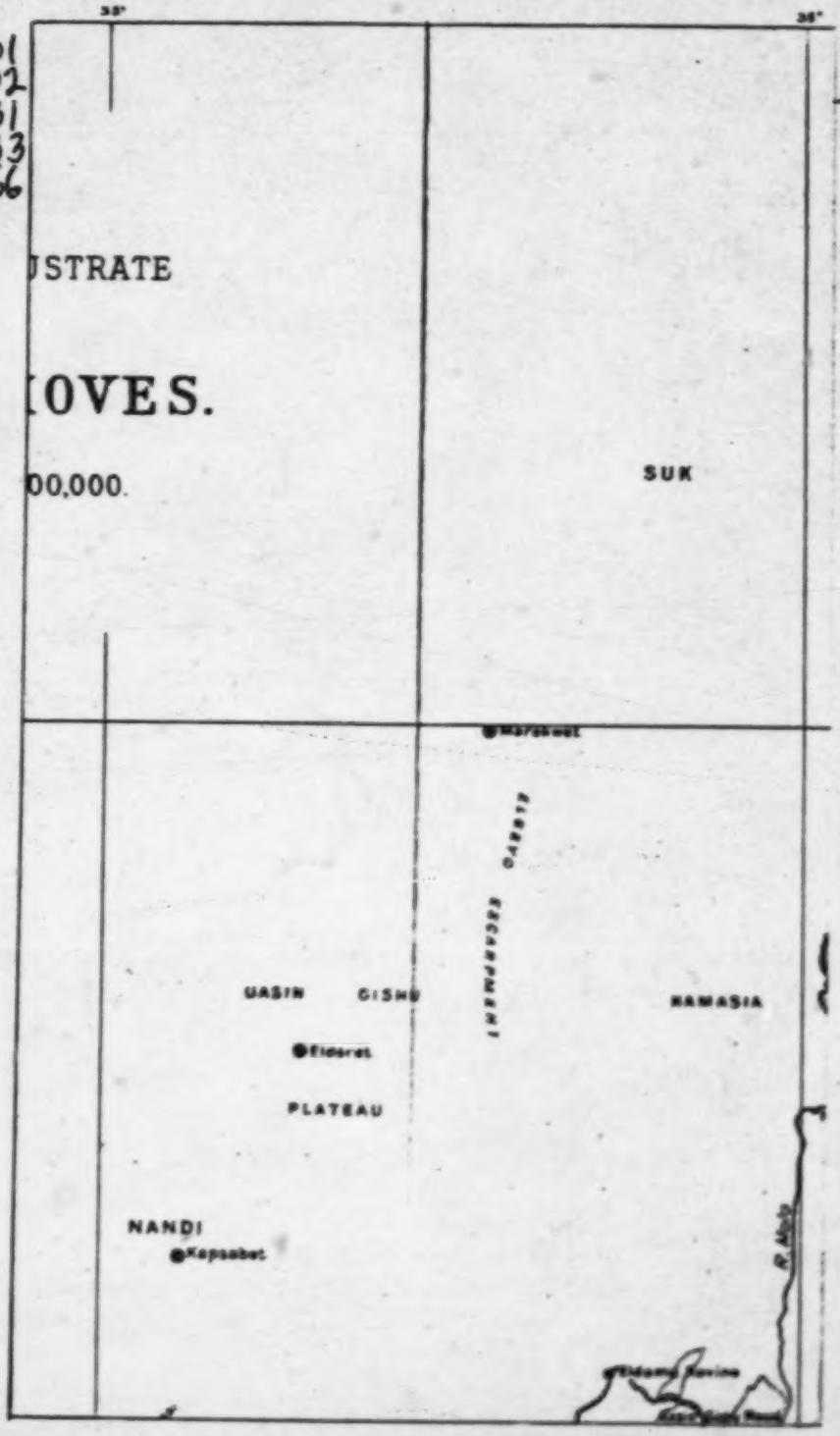

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.94-C]

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.94-D]

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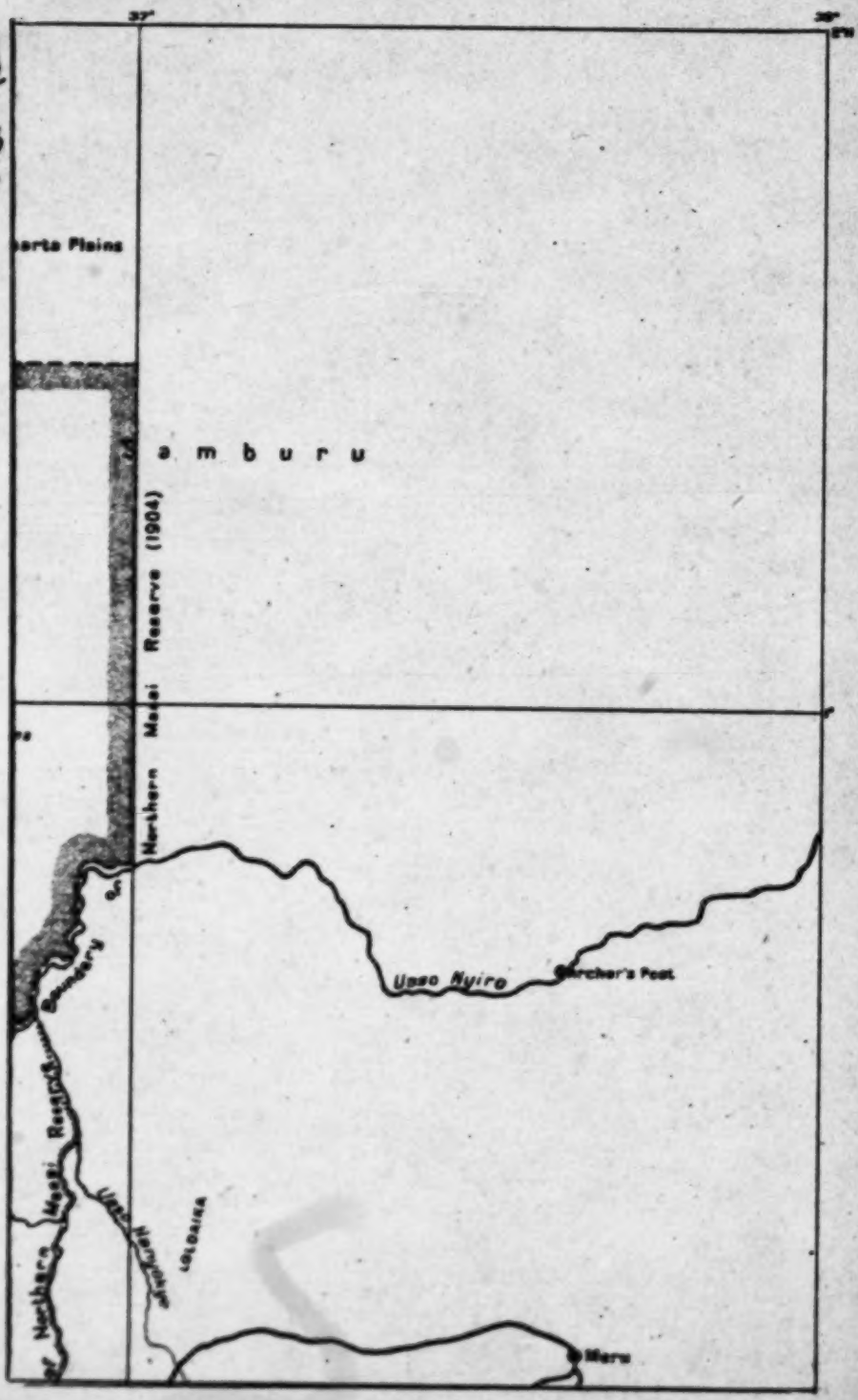

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.74-E]

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.94-F]

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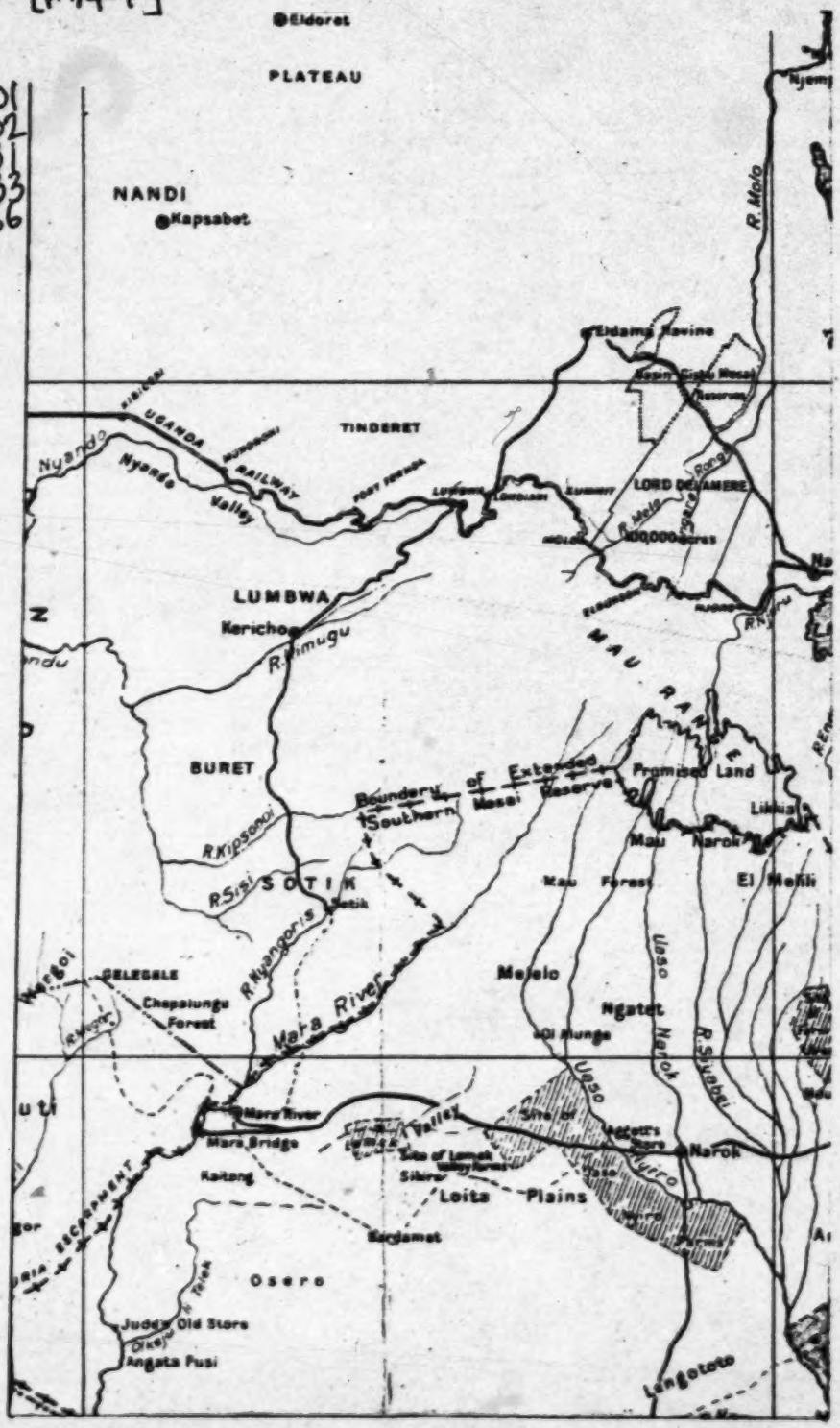

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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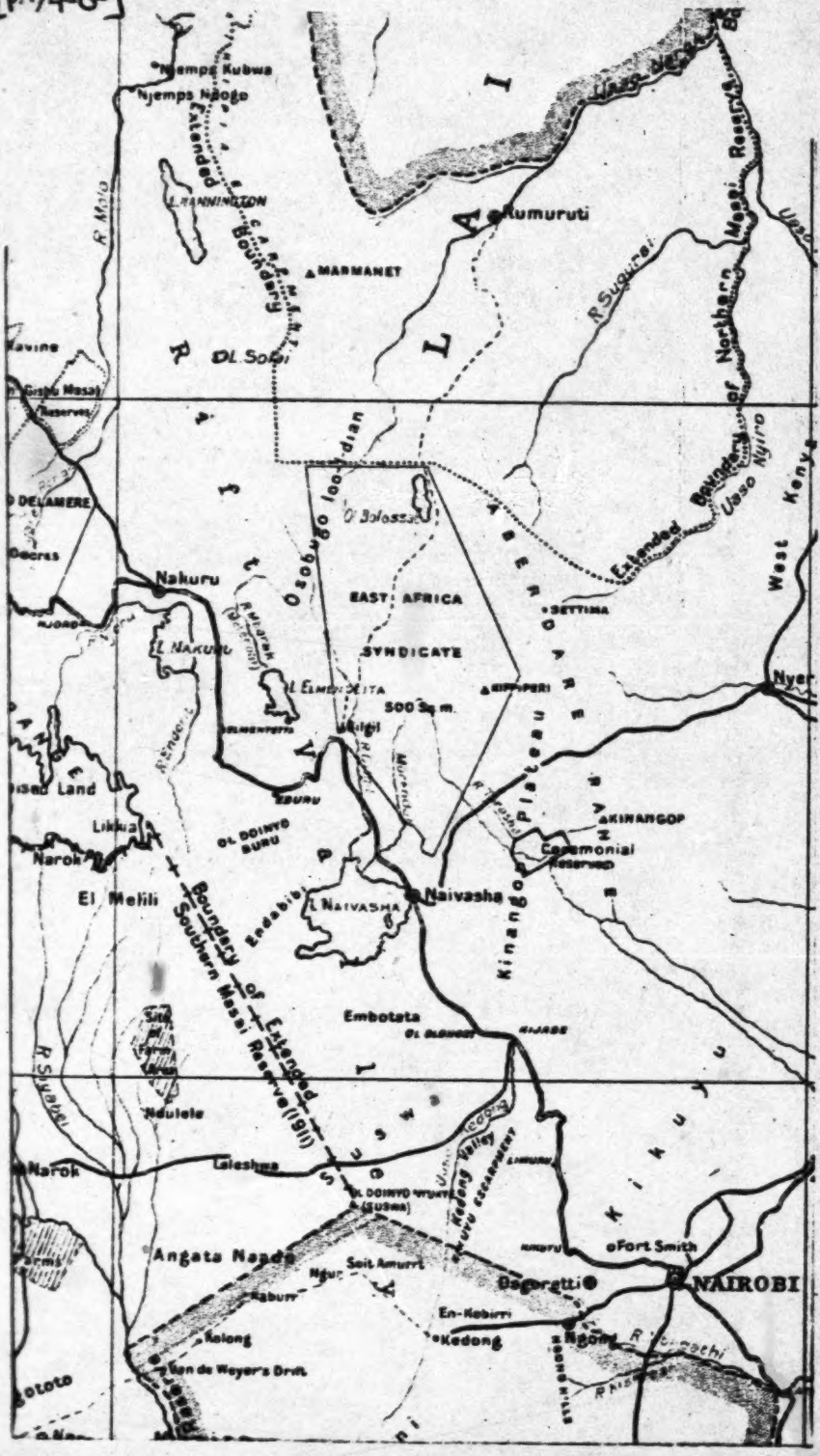

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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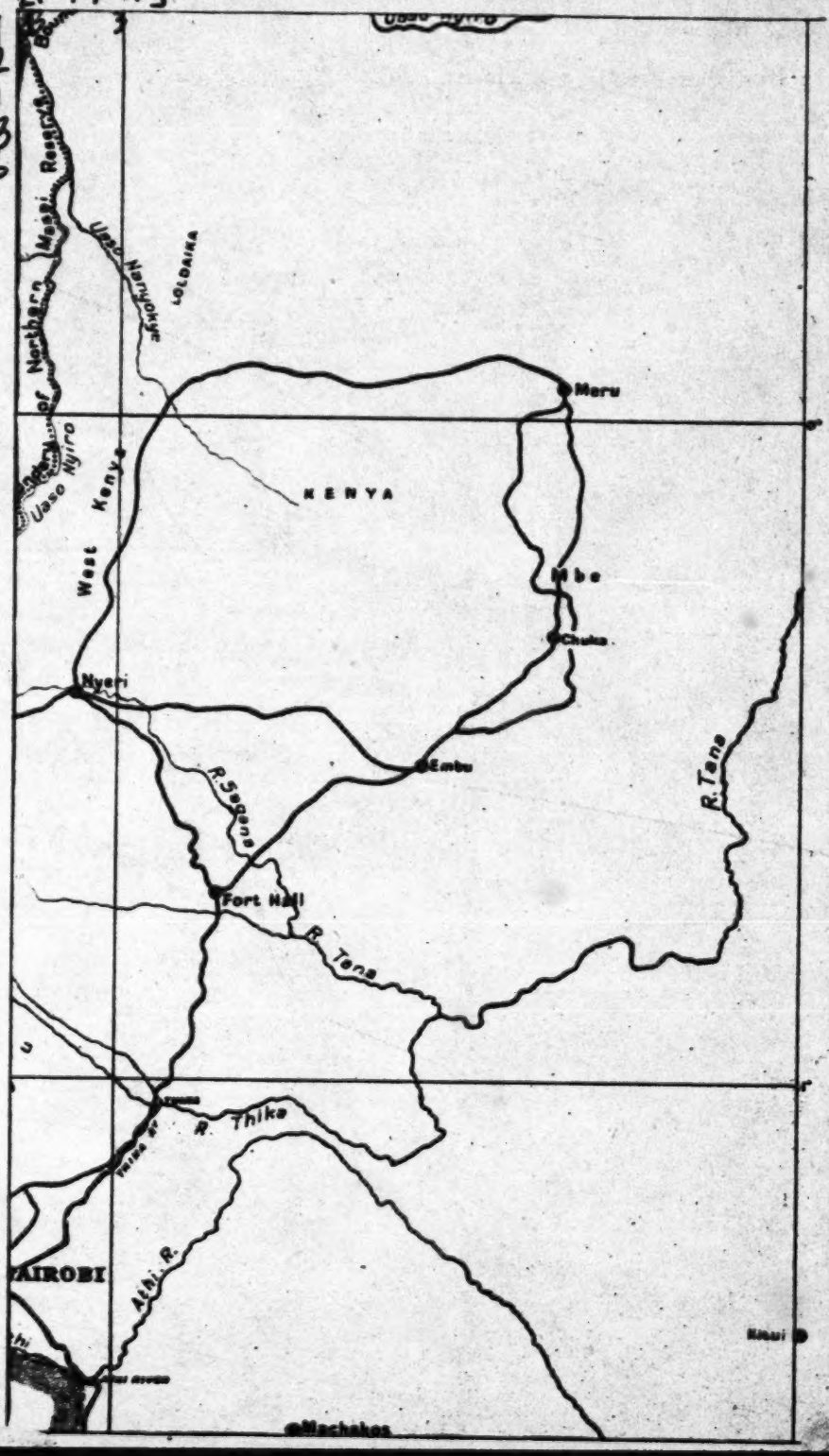

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 74-I]

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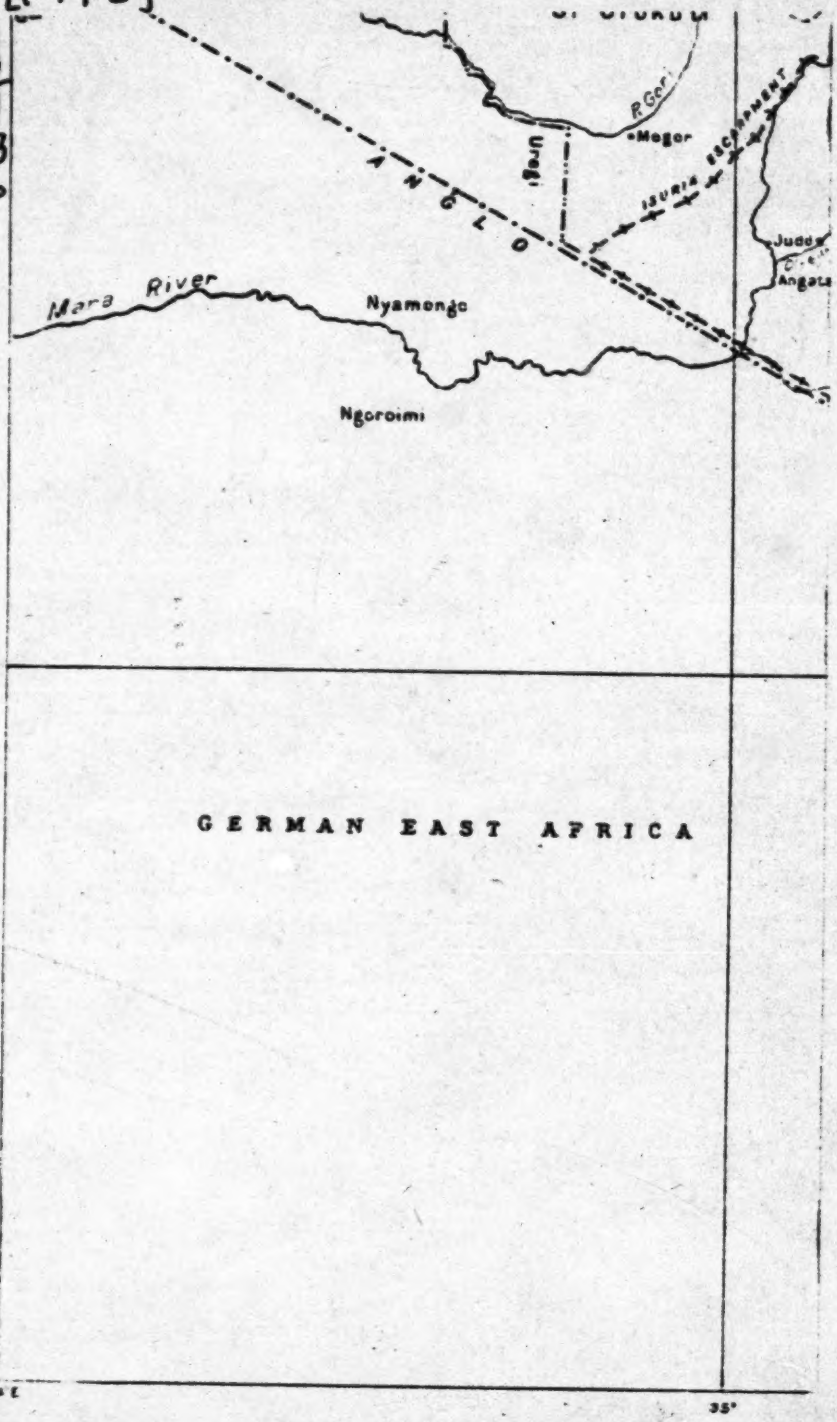

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P 74-J]

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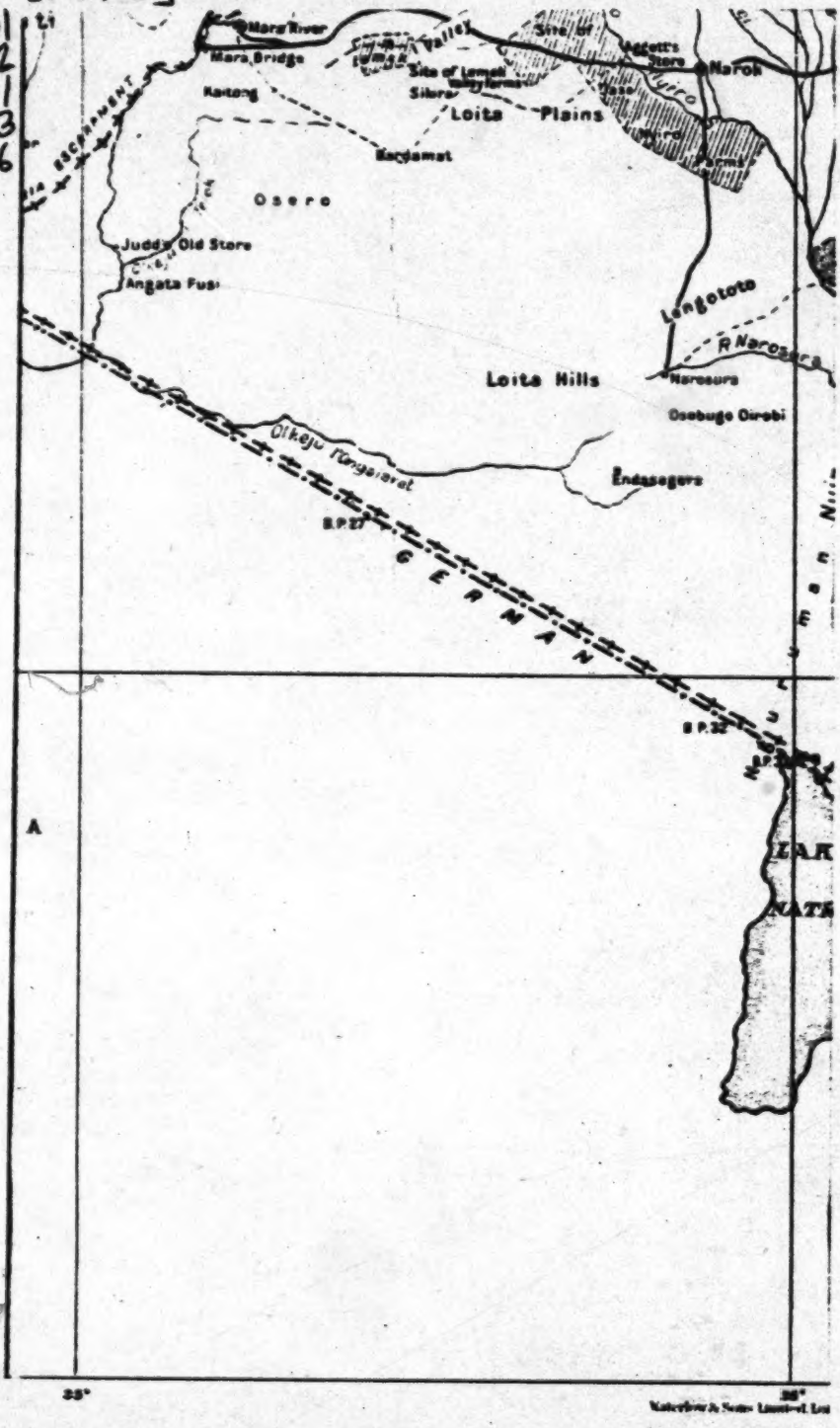

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.94-K]

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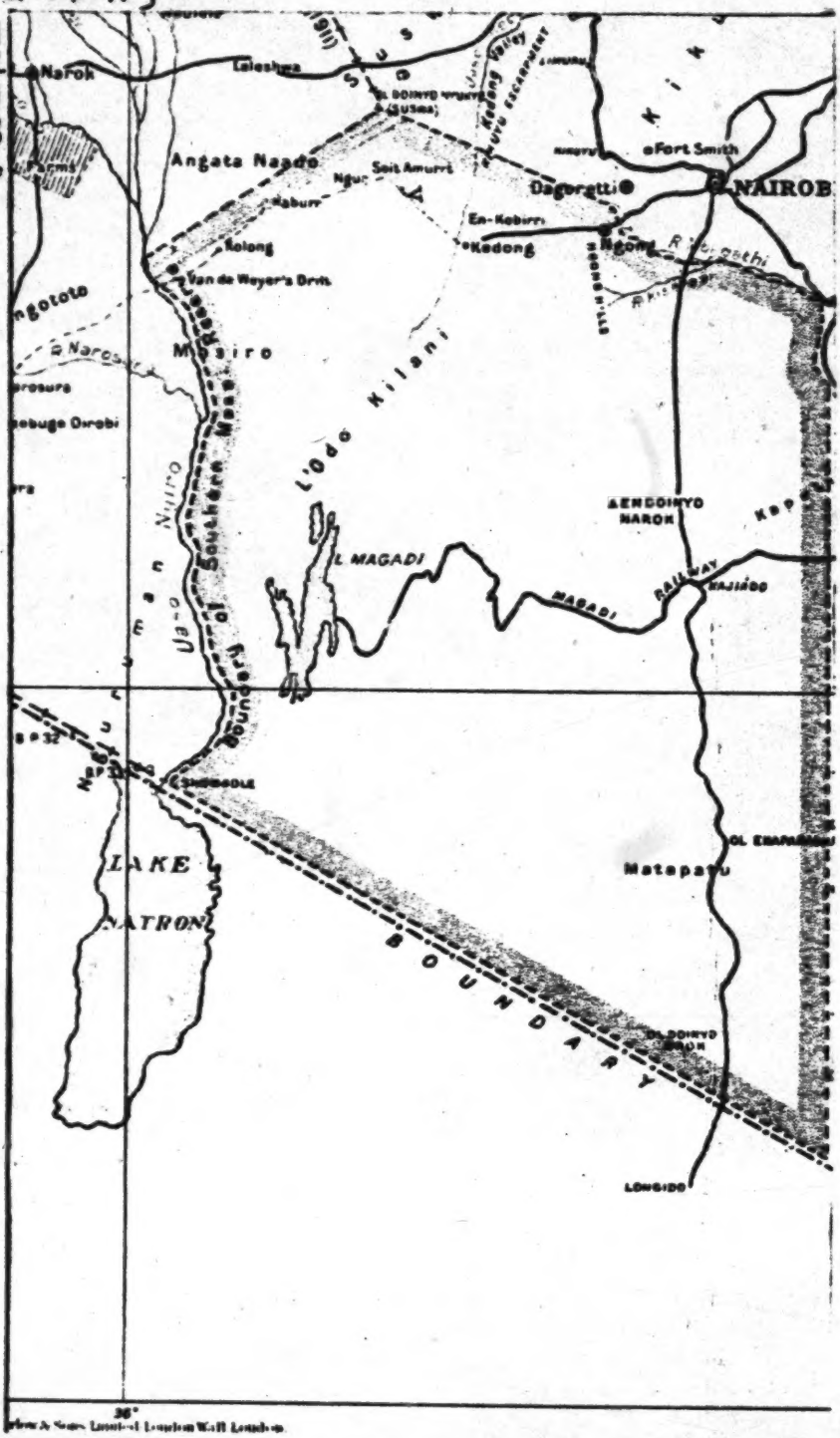

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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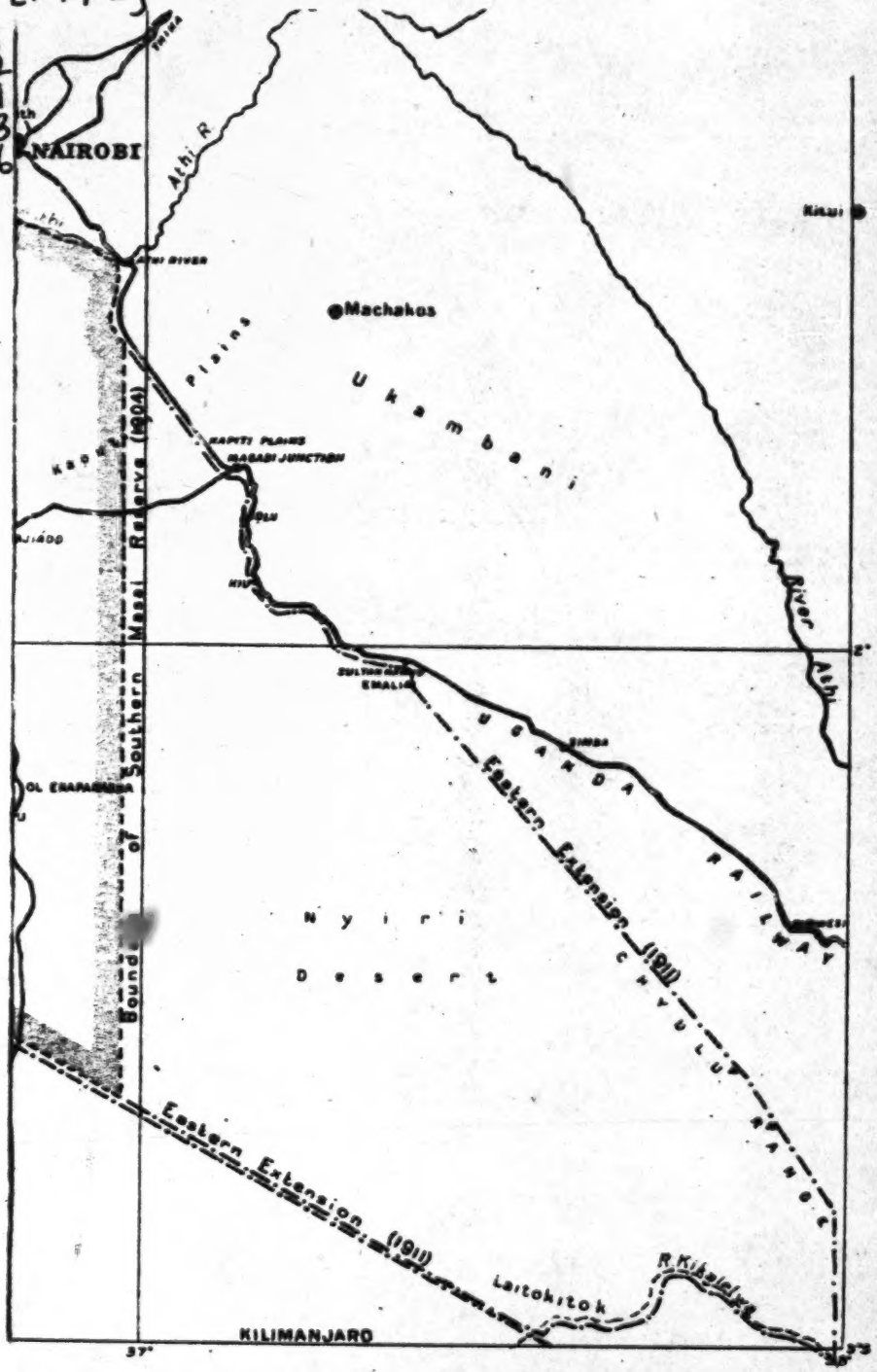

Chapter XI.

THE UASIN GISHU MASAI.

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The Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve—The extension of the reserve—Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai—Further extension of the reserve—Discussions between Lembere and Wali Kondi—Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries.

*648 101 578

In 1860, the Uasin Gishu Masai inhabited the plateau named after them. They were defeated in battle by the other Masai, and were scattered to various parts of the country, some going to the ravine, others to Nandi, and others to Kavirondo. Those located in the ravine rendered considerable assistance to Government in the early days of administration, and acquired a certain amount of wealth.

*648 The Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve.

The attention of the Government was first called to the necessity of creating a reserve for the Uasin Gishu Masai by Mr. Foaker, District Commissioner at Eldama Ravine, in February, 1904, soon after Lord Delamere had been granted a lease of a large area in the neighbourhood. Mr. Foaker asked that 100,000 acres might be reserved for them, and that the salt licks on Lord Delamere's land might be included in the reserve. No attempt was made to form a native reserve, but Lord Delamere was informed by the Land Officer on February 22nd, 1904, that, as the Uasin Gishu Masai had rights over the salt licks on his land, they must be given uninterrupted access thereto at any time.

Further large grants of land were made to Europeans near the Ravine Station in 1904, and, on the arrival of a surveyor, in January, 1905, to survey other farms in the neighbourhood, Mr. Foaker pointed out that great injustice was being done to the Uasin Gishu Masai.

The Land Officer thereupon reserved the only land then available—some 18,000 acres—which was for the most part stony and barren and had consequently not been applied for by Europeans.

The extension of the Reserve.

After the Nandi Expedition in 1906 it was decided to move to the ravine those Uasin Gishu Masai who had gone to live with the Nandi. This was done, with the result that the reserve became very congested.

In October, 1906, Mr. Hobley wrote to the Commissioner of Lands asking that the area reserved for the Uasin Gishu Masai might be increased, as it was inadequate. He also asked that a right of way to the salt licks on Mr. Hotz's land and Captain Grogan's grazing farm should be reserved for them. In February, 1908, Colonel Montgomery, accompanied by Mr. Bagge, then Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, proceeded to the ravine where he interviewed the Uasin Gishu Masai and visited their reserve. Colonel Montgomery was convinced that they had not enough land, and proposed the re-acquisition of some of the farms in the neighbourhood, a proposal which was agreed to by the Governor.

In 1909 and 1910 four farms on the Molo River, aggregating 21,972 acres, were re-acquired, and the Uasin Gishu Masai were informed that they might occupy those areas. A right of way from the Molo River to the salt lick on Mr. Hotz's farm was also reserved for them.

On February 6th, 1911, the Acting Governor interviewed the Uasin Gishu Masai Elders. The Masai complained that their reserve was still far too small for them and that they had not enough salt for their herds. They asked for permission to continue living on the unoccupied farms in the neighbourhood, paying rent in kind as heretofore to the various landlords who were, for the most part, absentees. They were informed that they must move into their reserve and that, if it was not large enough, they must sell their surplus stock. The Acting Governor agreed to their having a right of way to the salt lick on Captain Grogan's farm. The Masai were also informed that, in all probability, a cattle tax in lieu of hut tax would be imposed on pastoral tribes in the near future.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-kwafi
Dorobo FL6

D 224 411

elephant is attacked at close quarters, the arrow part driven into the great brute, and being loosely fixed in the handle, it remains when the latter is withdrawn. Another arrow is then affixed, and the same operation performed. It is said that an elephant will live a very short time after being thus stabbed, and entire herds are killed without one escaping, so dexterous and daring are these hunters. The Andorobbo also use the ordinary bow and arrow, but only for the smaller game.

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH KAVIRONDO TO VICTORIA NYANZA.

M 101 184

THE people (Wa-kwafi) of Njemps presented an interesting study to the observer as throwing light upon the origin of the various small tribes which people Africa. Unquestionably Masai in race, and only separated from that tribe through the loss of their cattle and the consequent necessity of breaking their cherished convictions by cultivating the soil, they had developed new ideas, manners, and customs in a comparatively short period.

M 142 184

They did not by any means supply an argument in favour of the vegetarians; for in personal appearance they had distinctly degenerated, and could not for a moment compete with their aristocratic carnivorous brethren of Lykipia. This was especially noticeable among the women, who had lost their slender, *genteel* shape and acquired the ill-proportioned, unwieldy contour of the negress. Perhaps an exception might be made in favour of the young women, many of whom were well-formed and characterized by most pleasing and interesting manners.

M 361

The colony consisted of two villages—Njemps of Guaso Tigirish, close to our camp, and Njemps of Guaso na Nyuki.

M 342 351

The houses were of the haycock order, with floors beneath the level of the ground, very small and badly built. They were surrounded by a double fence of thorns, which, however, are a greater source of danger than of protection, as in this dry climate they become like tinder, and consequently can be set on fire easily. If this were done at several points simultaneously, the inhabitants could easily be burned to death.

M 184

In a hazy sort of way they tried to keep up the distinction

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) " without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe."

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918.

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own " Counsellors " (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran.

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, " drank milk " and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, " the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare.

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

000 Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

131 161 The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21½ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,945 in Kenya and as 47,276 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

174 The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1830 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Uhehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

175 ● 101 The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war puposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the [648] efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

131 133 The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau [312] type of country is characterized by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

311 101 173 Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral puposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once

[1] See page 216.
[2] Page 168, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1919.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

divided into two sections, the agricultural ('l-oikop) and the pastoral Masai, there now remains in Tanganyika little vestige of the former.[1] A few scattered plots are cultivated by Masai, but it is with the help of alien labour. For the rest, there a little cultivation by the small Sonjo Tribe (3,521 in the 1948 Census), a people living below the Rift Wall who have not been assimilated by the Masai. The only other tribe in the District, the Dorobo (believed to number about 1,500), who are known traditionally as the "hunting people," are possibly a survival of the original inhabitants, and have become practically a servile class to the Masai.

As a pastoral people the Masai are semi-nomadic in the sense that they move with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that they in effect practise a system of rotational grazing. They are credited with the possession of three-quarters of a million cattle and large herds of sheep and goats, but the number of their stock is subject to large and rapid variation in times of drought, and moreover East Coast fever, rinderpest and other diseases take a heavy toll of them. In the late 'eighties a combination of drought and disease almost wiped out their cattle and greatly reduced the numbers of the people themselves. Though like many other African pastoral tribes they make a cult of their cattle, they show little interest in improving their quality, and in the past have been prepared to dispose of them only in so far as they might need cash for their Poll Tax or for the few articles of food required to satisfy a people whose ordinary diet is limited to milk, meat and blood. To some extent, this position was improved during the recent War, which provided a stimulus to production of beasts for sale.

From an economic point of view therefore the Masai present a difficult problem, since the contribution they make to the economy of the Territory does little to justify their occupation of so extensive an area as twelve million acres. From a social point of view they are also a problem, owing to their reluctance to avail themselves of facilities for education. And as will be further explained in the following pages, they present an equally difficult problem of native administration, for their social system is still reminiscent of a period when their chief concern was in fighting or raiding at the expense of their neighbours.

THE FORMATION OF THE SYSTEM OF NATIVE AUTHORITIES

As already indicated, the diverse social and economic conditions prevailing in different parts of the Province have been reflected in the variety of forms taken by the Native Authorities as now constituted. Before, however, proceeding to describe these in detail, it will be convenient to give here a statement which summarizes their chief features. See page 284.

THE MOSHI NATIVE AUTHORITIES

In the Moshi District the present formation of the Chagga Native Authorities is the result of a somewhat radical reorganization carried out in 1946. Up to that time the Chagga had been split up over nineteen chiefdoms, divided from each other not only physically by the deep ravines of the mountain side, but also politically by the obstinate clan feuds and jealousies of past days. These chiefdoms were all treated as of equal standing, though their jurisdiction varied from 11,500 taxpayers in the Machame chiefdom to 400 in the Mrao. They were united in a Council of Chagga Chiefs, which was conspicuous mainly

[1] The Masai, A. C. Hollis, 1905, page xi and xiv.

[pp. 284-286 not processed]

8: Whitehouse U-3 (no date) 1933 FL12 Masai FL12
I'Sigirari

MASAI SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

By L. E. Whitehouse.

● 101 These notes have been prepared from information collected from the Masai who occupy the south-east corner of the Southern Reserve, between Kilimanjaro and the Chylulu Hills. They belong to a large [614] section of the tribe called I'Sigirari. This section unlike other Masai sections is divided into two sub-sections, the Ingidongi, to which all "medicine" men belong and the Il-Kisongo, the majority of whom live in Tanganyika Territory.

The Kisongo living in Kenya distinguish themselves from those of Tanganyika by assuming yet a third name "Il Oitokitok." This name is undoubtedly derived from that of a spring "Engoitokitok," meaning "bubbling water." It was in the vicinity of this spring that the Masai settled when first they inhabited that part of the country.

561 I propose to deal with certain customs and ceremonies connected with the founding of a new age group. For the benefit of those who may not be conversant with this form of tribal government, may I briefly explain that the Masai tribe is divided into age groups called *il poror* or *ol-aji*. All youths circumcised during a specified period of years are said to belong to the same warrior age and together they form one age-group. In some sections an age-group is formed of two distinct divisions, a senior and a junior, known as the right-hand circumcision and the left-hand circumcision. Later a group passes from the status of warriors to that of elders and thus make way for a new age-group to rise to warrior rank.

[881] Masai boys are circumcised usually between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. The ceremonies which recommence about every seven years extend over a period of about five years. When the majority of the youths are circumcised and a warrior age-group of considerable number is assured, a movement is made to prevent any more boys from joining that group. Those responsible for the movement are the elders of the age-group next senior to the warriors at the time. These elders are to become sponsors and instructors to the members of a new age-group for the formation of which they make preparations.

They first send for a few of the bigger uncircumcised boys and explain that it is proposed to form a new age. In order to do this a ceremony called *endungori* must be held. The boys receive their [292] instructions and immediately don short cloaks made from black calf skins and anoint their heads with red earth that they may resemble warriors. They then set off in procession round the country on what

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System

By H. A. Fosbrooke

PREFACE.

The accompanying notes do not presume to give a balanced picture of the Masai social system. They were compiled in 1939 when the writer, after 4 years' service in the Masai District of Tanganyika was seconded to study the political system and to submit proposals on administrative reorganisation. These latter are omitted from the present publication, but the chapters on History, the Laibon, the Age Grade System, the Tribal Officials, and Clan and Family matters are presented in that order and in practically the same form as when originally submitted, and consequently refer to the position as it existed in 1939. This introduction and the conclusion are being written in 1946.

By reason of its origins this material has a heavy bias on the political side of the social organization; the purely social — birth, marriage and death customs — and the socio-economic — the cattle culture, land usage, etc. — leave a large field of interesting material for future study. It is hoped that one result of the publication of these notes will be to stimulate those at present serving in Masailand in whatever capacity, in both Kenya and Tanganyika, to take up these untouched branches of study in addition to correcting, bringing up-to-date and noting local divergences in this and other published material.

The Masai are known, by reputation or repute, to the majority of those into whose hands the present publication will fall. Here it will suffice to say that they are a race of semi-nomadic pastoralists, of Nilo-Hamitic stock, occupying a large area of country on both sides of the Kenya-Tanganyika border. The census due to take place this month will reveal their true numbers, and perhaps the editor of Notes and Records will be in a position to quote an accurate figure before this appears in print. But the whole tribe probably does not exceed 25,000 adult males or 100,000 persons in all.* It has been frequently pointed out by its critics that the tribe occupied more land and has played a more important part in history than is justified by its numbers, but the same remarks apply to many strong-charactered and virile races.

To illustrate this paper some of the numerous photographs which I took during my sojourn in Masailand are reproduced, though they have perhaps suffered through time and inadequate storage; in addition those interested will find that the works marked in the bibliography with an asterisk give an adequate pictorial representation of Masai life. And finally 400 feet of 16 mm. ciné film, kindly edited and 'duped' by the Colonial Film Unit, has been deposited with the Information Officer, Dar-es-Salaam, from whom it may be obtained on loan. Of particular interest are shots

* The Director of Statistics, E.A. High Commission, has kindly supplied the following preliminary estimate figures of the Census enumeration: Total number of Masai in the Masai districts of Kenya and Tanganyika — 187,398, of which 94,535 are males.—Ed.

186 L. S. B. LEAKEY.—*Some Notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony.*

PREFACE.

114 In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted,
115 since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been [120] fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct [124] leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part [101] of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 30 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names). They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since [548] [128] government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

844 *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its ears are examined in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood see Part IX.) From the day of [846] birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

553 *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike [971] some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any PARTICULAR RELATION.

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

12: Fan G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12
Kenya

FURTHER NOTES ON THE MASAI OF KENYA COLONY.

[With Plates XIII-XV.]

By D. Stuart Fox.

Preface.

My excuse for writing the following is that in the capacity of District Officer, Kenya Colony, I have administered the Kenya Masai for periods aggregating rather more than three years between 1923 and 1930. Being able to speak the language fluently, and having observed their life and habits from day to day, I can supply a certain amount of information supplementary to the notes recently published in the *Journal* (pp. 185-209) by Mr. Leakey and the earlier work of Sir A. C. Hollis (*The Masai*, by A. C. Hollis, Clarendon Press, 1905). I have avoided repeating facts already recorded by these two authorities except where I can add to them or correct them.

In the following notes the first part consists mainly of additions to and comments on Mr. Leakey's article. Later on, I have dealt with other customs with which I am conversant. By the Masai I mean the people who comprise the territorial sections enumerated in the age-group table below. There are other tribes sometimes called Masai, *i.e.* the Uasin-Gishu, Aruosha, Southern Njampa and Ngorongoro, of doubtful origin and divergent customs to whom this article does not refer.

The Masai are a secretive people, suspicious of strangers, and unwilling for the most part to discuss with them their customs. But there live amongst them a number of natives of other tribes such as Kikuyu, who have been adopted by the Masai. Such folk are very ready to expatiate on Masai customs, but their testimony is often misleading because it is only half the truth.

Until recently I had no idea of setting down in writing the facts which I know about the tribe. I made myself acquainted with their language and customs simply because, without such knowledge, I should have been largely unable to appreciate their point of view or make decisions and give advice of value to them.

As there are many things still to learn about the Masai, I have omitted the matters on which my information is as yet insufficiently verified.

Childhood. Games.—Little girls sometimes play with dolls. These are made crudely by their mothers of mud, which they drive. I have seen a little girl dressing her doll with a bit of cloth, giving it milk from a tiny gourd, suckling it at her breast and rocking it to sleep, just as a European child might do. The Masai name for a doll is *Ene-gomi e-ormog'op*, which means child of mud. (See Hollis, p. 333.)

[614] The name of the main group *Loodo nyangi* is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan *Loodo Kishu* because the former means "the blood-red bullocks and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol pilote* (the clan) and *Enkishomi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 280, speaks of a group of Masai called *L-Okiep* or *Il-Lumbwa*. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

[Fig. 1]

Some clans are associated with certain snakes as under :—

Il Aiser ol Oremme Orok (the black cobra ?), *Loiboitore ol Amorai Nongai Orok* (the thin black snake), *Il Dareero ol Amorai Sero* (the brown snake), *Il Nobelio* all snakes.

[577] *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas *Naivasi Nagure* and *Il Molili*, west of the Rift valley. An adopted person is called *O-Siago*. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

[Fig. 2]

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his head of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he elects to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[554] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He could not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well born Masai woman.

[541 928] *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FH3
Tatoga FN26

THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES[1]

INTRODUCTION

The Nilo-Hamitic peoples included in this volume form, in the main, two reasonably compact related groups: the Nandi, who live on the western edge of the Kenya highlands; and to the east of them, the Masai, whose land formerly stretched north and south for 400 miles along the Great Rift Valley. The Nandi-speaking tribes, homogeneous in culture, are derived from a common stock; and their culture has in turn a good deal in common with that of the Masai. Distributed through the highlands occupied by the Nandi and Masai are the scattered hordes[2] of Okiek, more commonly known as Dorobo or Wandorobo, the forest-dwelling hunters who preceded the present native inhabitants of Kenya Colony and northern Tanganyika Territory. The racial position of these Dorobo is uncertain: some people regard them (I believe erroneously) as early Nilo-Hamites; but since they have derived their present language and much of their culture from the Nandi, they are entitled to a place among the Nilo-Hamites.

The Tatog division of the Nandi group is separated from the rest of the Nandi-speakers, and lies close to the edge of the southern Masai; these people are included with the Nilo-Hamites on the score of language alone, since at present there seems to be no evidence of physical or cultural connection between them and the rest of the Nandi group. The languages, however, are unmistakably related, and therefore justify their inclusion here.

The third group, described as "unclassified," has been included because the peoples embraced by it live on the fringe of the Nilo-Hamites and would otherwise have been left out of the Ethnographic Survey altogether, since they cannot be fitted into any East African group under any existing scheme of classification. For these reasons it is considered that their appearance here is justifiable. The Ireqw and [illegible] are, by means certain, nor has it yet been possible to classify their languages in spite of the availability of material, and for the present they must be left as "unclassified." The Hadzapi are "bushmen"—wild hunting people of the bush; and the Sandawe seem to be analogous to the Hottentots. These have a number of links with the Bushmen and Hottentots of South-West Africa; but they belong territorially to East Africa.

The majority of the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists practising (with the exception of the Pastoral Masai) a little agriculture, intensely conservative, devoted to their cattle, and regarding the rest of the world with contempt, a condition from which even now many of them are but slowly emerging. These characteristics help to explain such things as the absence of any extensive development of trade, and the lack of headway made among many of them by missionary efforts. In pre-European days they not only lay outside the slave trade, but largely controlled the ordinary coast trade to the highlands; hence Islam did not appear among them.

NOMENCLATURE

1. Nandi Group

There is no general term which is used by the people themselves to cover the main Nandi-speaking group, but (1) all Dorobo call themselves Okiek, sing. Okiet, though they have no horde-names of their own; (2) the term Tatog(a) is a group name covering eight tribes of which the Barabaig are the largest.

[1] For the relationship of the Southern Nilo-Hamites to the other Nilo-Hamitic Peoples, see *Ethnographic Survey, East Central Africa*, Part VI.

[2] The reasons for choosing this term "horde" are given in my paper "The social institutions of the Dorobo," *Anthropos*, 1931, XLVI, p. 1.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
TATOGA FN26

group: Kipkenenik, Tindiret, Loldiani, Ravine, Western Mau, Eastern Mau; Central group: Dondolo, Sabeta, Kiding, Digiri; Eastern group: Mt. Kenya, Kisima; Southern group: Moshi. The western, central, and eastern groups are all in Kenya, the southern in Tanganyika Territory.

The Tatog division comprises:[1]

1. Barabaig: call themselves Barabaik, sing. Barabaande; the sing. primary form is Barabaa; the plur. primary Barabo has not yet been recorded. 2. Gisamajek. 3. Dorobajek. 4. Ekerewajek. 5. Burudik. 6. Simajek. 7. Rotagalenk. 8. Gidabawdik.

The Tatog (Tatoga) are called Tatura by their Iaudowu and Basuto neighbours; this is said to be a corruption of Tatog. They are called Il-Magori, sing. Ol-Magoriani (= " the enemies ") by the Masai, and this term has crept into some of the literature.

II. Masai Group

The Masai as a whole call themselves Il-Masai, sing. Ol-Masai.[2] There is some uncertainty as to the nomenclature and tribal divisions of the Masai. It is clear, however, that they are not a single tribe, but a group consisting of a number of pastoral units called il-oshe, sing. ol-oshoe, or sub-tribes, which were associated in major units which may be called tribes and were the political units. These tribes and their sub-tribes may be provisionally set out as follows:

Northern Masai:

1. Il-Ahlpiak, sing. Ol-Ahlpiani. Written also Lelkipya, Lelkipia, and even Lykipia.

2. Il-Wuasin-kishu, sing. Ol-Wuasin-kishui. Commonly written Uasin Gishu, and formerly Guas Ngishu from the mistaken idea that it meant " river (pasture) of cattle," whereas it means " striped cattle."

3. [illegible] sing. Ol-[illegible], commonly written [illegible] of the white goats).

Central or Rift Valley Masai:

4. Il-Kisongo, sing. Ol-Kisongoi, a grouping of three il-oshe called Il-Purko, Il-Dume, and Il-Kook-e-nyokie. Il-Purko has been Europeanized into Kisongo, and Kisongo into Kisongo.

5. Il-Kapotiei, sing. Ol-Kapotiani, a grouping of three il-oshe called Il-Kapotie, Il-oo-de-kilani, and Il-kale-le-kitok. The first is also written Kapiti, Kapiti; the second is the Dogilani of the older travellers.

6. Il-Loitai, a grouping of the Il-Loitai and Il-Siria, to which latter belong the followers of the il-Aiser clan.

Southern Masai:

7. Il-Kiseuko, sing. Ol-Kiseukoi, generally written Kisongo, the Masai of Tanganyika Territory.

All these are Pastoral Masai; the first two no longer exist as separate tribal entities: the Il-Wuasin-kishu were broken up about 1883, and lost their tribes; though they have now been re-formed under their old name, this is due to the action of the British Administration. The Il-Ahlpiak have also lost their land and their separate identity.

The Agricultural Masai are known as Il-Lumpwa, sing. Ol-Lumpwani, commonly

[1] Information from Mr. Gordon Wilson.

[2] All and of in Masai names and words are the plural and singular article respectively (feminine, fem.; sing., sing.). The Wuasin Kishu pronunciation is Masian.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13
Tatoga FN26

written Lumbwa; and as Il-Oikop, sing. Ol-Oikopani, written variously Loikop, Loikob, Ekiqob, and even Leukop. The Kenya Masai call the pastoral Masai of Tanganyika, Kisonko, and the Agricultural Masai of Tanganyika they call Il-Arusa, the people known in Tanganyika as Arusa being a strongly Masaiised group of basically Pare (Bantu) origin. The name Il-Tiamus, sing. Ol-Tiamusi, written also Enjemusi, Njamusi, Njampa, etc., refers to the Agricultural Masai at the south end of Lake Baringo.

The name Wakwafi, Wakwavi applied by the Swahili to the Masai does not, it seems, really distinguish agricultural from pastoral, and the distinction made by Krapf in 1854 is more apparent than real. The word is derived from the Masai (*in-)kwapi*, pl. of *enkop*, "the countries," and from it come the names used of the Masai as a whole by (*a*) the Bantu, e.g., Kikuyu, Kamba, *A-Kabi*; (*b*) the Nandi group: Dorobo, *Ipkwapek*; Keny, *Ipkopek*; Keyo, *Kipkopek*; Nandi, *Ipwapek*.

III. Unclassified Peoples

1. Hadzapi: call themselves Hadzapi, sing. Hadza. They are called WaTindega by the Isanzu, and WaKindiga and Kangeju by others.
2. Sandawe: call themselves Sandawe, sing. Sandawe'a.
3. Iraqw: call themselves Iraqwa, sing. Iraquta. Other forms used by Europeans are Irak, Irakw, Erukh. They are also called WaMbulu, which is thought to be derived from the Swahili *mbulu*, "a person who says meaningless things because of madness or weak intellect"; and the district is known as Mbulu.
4. Gorowa: call themselves Gorowa. Also known as Goroa, and sometimes as [illegible].
5. Alawa: call themselves Alawa; also known as Wasi.
6. Burungi: call themselves Burungi.

GROUPING

Most of the Southern Nilo-Hamites live in the highlands of Kenya Colony; the southern Masai (Kisonko) and Taturga are found in the northern part of Tanganyika Territory.

The Nandi group (Group I) is found in two concentrations: (i) to the north-east of Lake Victoria; (ii) south of Lake Eyasi.* The Dorobo are scattered over the forested parts of the highland area. The *Nandi division* of the group is mainly west of the Rift Valley on all sides of the Uasin Gishu plateau, at the north-west corner of which is Mount Elgon, on whose lower slopes live the Keny and Pok in Kenya, and the Sapei and Sepeet in Uganda. East of Elgon, and at the north-east corner of the plateau, are the Suk, living partly in the hill country north-east of Kitale, and partly in the low country further east. South of the Suk, on the western edge of the Rift Valley, and along the east side of the plateau are the Marakwet, Endo, and Keyo; east of the Keyo are the Tukon or Kamasya. The Keyo country is a long, narrow strip consisting of high grassland and forest along the top of the escarpment, the precipitous slope of the escarpment itself, and the valley of the Kerio lying some 4,000 ft. below the summit of the escarpment. The south end of the Keyo country adjoins the hill country of the Mau, in the forests of which live a number of Dorobo bands, those labelled Kipkurenek, Tindiret, Ravine, Loldiani, West Mau, and East Mau. From the Mau the southern Nandi escarpment runs eastwards towards Kavirondo Gulf, almost coinciding with the equator, and above this escarpment the Nandi country stretches northwards, with the small tribe of Terik adjoining it on the south-west. South of the escarpment is the Kipsigis country. The Nandi-speaking peoples thus enclose the open grassland where the

* There is in addition a number of scattered pockets of Taturga between Lake Eyasi and Lake Victoria.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Nandi FL13
Tatoga FN26

Il-Wuasin-kishu Masai (Uasin Gishu) lived till they were broken up about 1850. The Nandi tribes are surrounded by other Nilo-Hamites (Karamojoŋ, Turkana, Masai) on the north, east, and south, and by the Bantu Kavirondo (AbaLuhya) and Nilotic Kavirondo (Luo) on the west.

Immediately to the east of the Nandi group lies the territory of the Masai (Group II), in and on both sides of the Rift Valley, stretching from Samburu in the north to about 6° south in Tanganyika Territory. In the north are the Sambur (Samburu) and, formerly, the Il-Aikipiak (Laikipia) east of the Rift Valley, with the old Uasin Gishu country enclosed by the Nandi west of the Rift. To the south of the Il-Aikipiak are the central Masai, comprising the Il-Kinopop extending right across the Rift Valley, the Loitai and Siria west of the Rift Valley, and the Il-Kaputie. These are the Kenya Masai. The country of the Tanganyika Masai, consisting of the Il-Kisonko and Il-Arusa, lies between Lolgorien on the west and Kilimanjaro on the east, narrowing as it goes southwards. There are settlements (*in-kanwan* = farms) of the agricultural Masai from Lake Natron southwards. The Masai are bounded on the north and north-west by tribes of the Nandi group and by the Turkana; on the north-east by the scattered Randile and Borana; on the east by the Kikuyu and Kamba, Caga, Pare, and Shambaa (all Bantu tribes); on the south by the Bantu Kaguru and Nguru; and on the west by the Iraqw, Burungi, Shashi, Kurya, Gusii, Kipsikis, and Nandi, and by a short stretch of Bantu Kavirondo between Nandi and Elgon: the Nandi and Bantu Kavirondo were the neighbours of the Il-Wuasin-kishu who now no longer live here.

Scattered over the highlands are the Dorobo hordes (the *Dorobo division* of the Nandi group) which are found in four main concentrations: (i) Western, in the Mau forests (West Mau, West Mau, Dasina, Lelbinai, Tindiret, and Kiptunosh hordes); (ii) Central or Rift Valley (Dundule, Saleta, Kidoŋ, and Digiri hordes); (iii) Eastern (hordes on the slopes of Mount Kenya and Kisima); and (iv) Southern, consisting of the Moiro of the Talamai hills east of Kibaya in Tanganyika Territory. The Dorobo hordes are thus in contact with Nandi, Tuken, Keyo, Kipsikis, Masai, and Kikuyu; in spite of this, their language is in all cases a dialect of Nandi, though in some places where they are losing their identity (as in the case of the Kidoŋ) their Nandi speech is being forgotten and is in process of being replaced by Kikuyu.

The *Tatoga division* of the Nandi group is separated from the nearest Nandi-speakers (the Kipsikis) by 200 miles of Masai territory. The Barabaig (Barabaik), the only tribe of this division of which we have any detailed knowledge, occupy the country in the triangle formed by Mount Hanang and Lakes Basuto and Balangida south of Lake Eyasi. They live in an enclave surrounded by Nilo-Hamites (Masai) and Bantu (Kaguru, Gogo, Nyamwezi, and Sukuma); in this enclave live also the Bantu tribes Isanzu, Nyiramba, and Nyaturu; the Bush people Hadzapi; the Sandawe; and the unclassified though supposedly Hamitic Gorowa and Iraqw.

The Hadzapi, Sandawe, Iraqw, and Gorowa are grouped together here as "unclassified" (Group III) in order to bring them into the Survey, for they cannot otherwise be easily fitted in, having no known relationship or specific cultural affinities with any other East African peoples.

All the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists, though most of them except the pastoral Masai practise a certain amount of agriculture. The Nandi group are mainly people who live in hilly country, though they are not mountaineers, and their land must be such that cattle can be kept. The Masai on the other hand are plainsmen and accustomed to open country. While the Nandi tribes lived and fought in all kinds of country, not minding bush so long as it was not too thick for cattle, though they avoided forest, the Masai were at a disadvantage once they got out of the open country. The Tatoga are also (it would appear) plainsmen. The Dorobo are forest-loving hunters, till recently dwelling inside the forests; they have shown a tendency to become pastoralists with some agriculture. The Hadzapi are "Bush-men," inhabitants of bush country, and like the South African Bushmen have shown no sign of changing their way of life. The Sandawe are hunters who have

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

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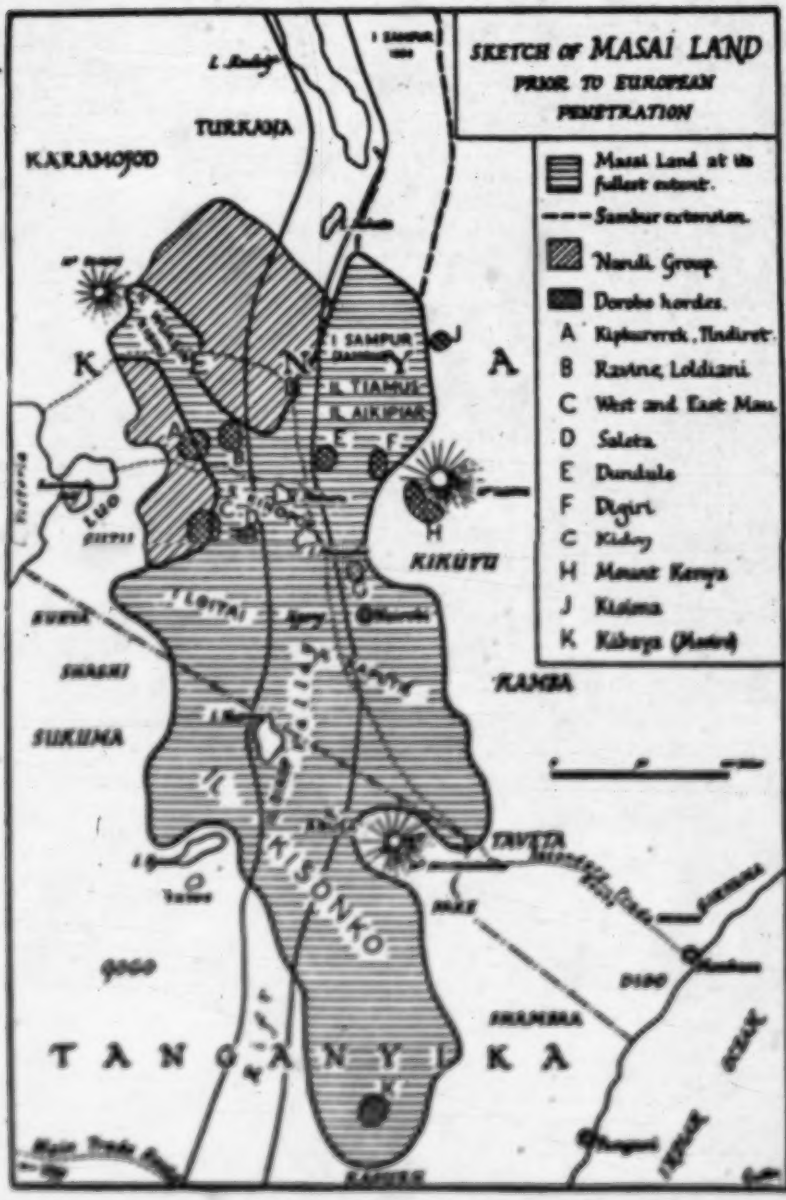

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13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

The agricultural Masai, the Il-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days, are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of "Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndaseriani (Ndare serian), 15 miles south-west of Narosura; in the region known as Nguruman (*in-kurman*, "the farms") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[8] Von Höhnel adds Ndasekera, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[9] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[10] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[11] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[8] *Das Massai-Land*, 1885, map at end.
[9] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 3.
[10] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery*, etc., II, pp. 2, 3.
[11] Called by the Masai il Tuperita, sing. ol Tuperitai.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as " Njemps Kubwa " and " Njemps Ndogo " in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the " free-love " system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[12] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[13] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, " one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[12] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.
[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, " The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 139–40.
[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

14:Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL10
Kenya FL1

(ii) *The Masai.*

The Masai are a pastoral tribe whose sole occupation is the tending of large herds of cattle, sheep and goats. It has been estimated that they have about 25 head of cattle, and twice as many sheep and goats, per head of the population.

The staple articles of diet are meat, milk, and blood. The blood is drawn from the living animal by puncture of the jugular vein with an arrow. Various roots and barks are used to make infusions which are used either with boiled meat or with milk. The men, while in the "moran," or warrior class, subsist practically entirely on these articles of diet. The rest of the population, in addition to these four items, which form the main part of their food, eat also some bananas, beans, millet, arrowroot, maize, sugar and honey, as these are available. The use of maize, which was introduced only a few years ago, is increasing.

For the greater part of the year there is no scarcity of meat, blood and milk, but in periods of severe drought, when, in spite of the large herds, the milk supply is inadequate, the consumption of these vegetable foods is increased, and even the "moran" may be compelled to supplement their meat and milk diet.

Berries are eaten by the warriors when on safari, *i.e.*, on hunting or fighting expeditions. It appears also to be customary to send the pregnant women into the bush to eat berries. The berries would make an insignificant contribution to the main constituents of the diet, but it is probable that they are of considerable importance as an antiscorbutic addition.

One section of the tribe, the Loitokitok, have adopted a frankly mixed diet. It is of interest that pica among the Masai is confined to this section, who use edible earths from various sources with their vegetable foods.

(*b*) **Chemical Composition of Native Foodstuffs, Edible Earths, and Mineral Waters.**

The results of the chemical analysis of 153 samples of substances used in the dietary of the two tribes are given in Appendix I. Certain points of interest are discussed below.

(i) *Foodstuffs.*

In the following table a comparison is made between the analyses of the chief Kenya foodstuffs and analyses of similar products grown in other regions, probably in Europe or America, as quoted by Sherman (1926). All the figures are given as grams per 100 grams dry matter.

	Kenya Maize.	*Maize.*
Ca	·005	·011
P	·41	·32
Na	·038	·084
Cl	·05	·058
K	·42	·48

17:Jacobs E-4 (no date) 1965 FL12 Masai FL12

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MASAI

113 This bibliography is a revision of a mimeographed copy which I compiled several years ago and which has been circulated privately on 101 request. Continued interest has now prompted me to revise and publish it here. It deals mainly with the Pastoral or "Rift Valley" Masai of both Kenya and Tanzania. But it also includes many important references to other Maa-speaking peoples--such as the Samburu and Njemps (Tiamus) of Kenya and the Arusha and Baraguyu of Tanzania--who are referred to variously in the early literature as the Wakwavi, Wahumba, or Iloikop or simply as the Agricultural Masai.

113 Although by no means exhaustive, the bibliography is designed to include all the major works dealing with the history, language, and traditional social, political, and economic life of the Pastoral Masai. Other important items, not included here, may be found in the following: (1) Colonial Office Files, Public Record Office, London; (2) Secretariat Archives, Nairobi, Mombasa, and Dar es Salaam; and (3) Regional and Area Administrative Office Files, Kenya and Tanzania.

Titles in this bibliography are arranged alphabetically according to author or organization. The following abbreviations are used:

JAS	Journal of the African Society
JEAUNHS	Journal of East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
JRGS	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
MS NAD	Manuscript in former Department of Native Affairs, Secretariat Building, Nairobi
Pro. RGS	Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society
TNR	Tanganyika Notes and Records

18: Merker

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[For Masai traditions of contact with non-Masai peoples during the "primeval age of the Masai" migrations, along with a brief cultural sketch of each group, see category 116, pp. 385-400.]

/6 cont./

174 original homeland, which is to be sought in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Only at the equator did the march to the south stop. Here the Masai found not only steppe regions such as they required for their herds, but also tribes of people such as they needed, as victims of their war expeditions, for their own survival.

000 The agriculturalist finds his sustenance in the soil; the one who carries on agriculture and stock raising finds in the former an adequate livelihood, even during periods that are unfavorable for stock raising, and he can, through the more stable trade relations that he owes to his sedentariness, acquire the new breeding animals that are needed to prevent too extensive an inbreeding of the livestock. On the other hand, a culture-poor nomadic people that lives solely and only from the livestock is in a much more unfavorable position. Merely to protect the herds from degeneration, a constant supply of breeding animals on a large scale is an urgent necessity. Moreover, because of the rinderpest, periodically appearing and in Africa, unfortunately, almost never dying out, and other epidemics, ruin very often threatens the stockbreeder, if in such cases he has no opportunity to replace his losses as quickly as possible and to obtain vegetable food in the meantime. Steppe peoples are aggressive, and for culture-poor peoples in general might always comes before right. There now live in the [101] mountain lands lying on the borders of the steppes, and in the ones enclosed by them, Negro tribes who, in relation to the Masai, held together by firm organization and a high degree of tribal arrogance, and exceedingly mobile, are very immobile, for one thing, but then also are bound together within their own tribes only by a greater or lesser degree of herdlike obedience. They [439] are accustomed to seeing, even in their sedentary neighbors, their born enemies; they live constantly at war among themselves, even in a small space, since often each village is independent, and thus must have been desirable neighbors for the Masai, from whom the latter could at any time obtain both vegetables and, what was of special value, livestock.

/7 cont./

000 against the former. The El kuafi recognized the chief (ol oiboni)
174 of the Masai as also their own and seem for a long time to have
184 been on the best of terms with them. Then -- so the tradition
669 tells -- a girl named Matangó, from the family of the ol oiboni
619 Sitonik -- she is usually designated as his sister, more rarely as
726 his aunt -- took a fancy to a member of a legation of El kuafi
[173] warriors sent to Sitonik and went away with her lover. When she bore him a son, the El kuafi proclaimed him their ol oiboni and at the same time refused to obey Sitonik. With this the wars began between Masai and El kuafi. They lasted -- so it seems -- the entire first half of the nineteenth century and occurred sporadically even in the second half of it. One of the decisive battles was at Kisongo, a six-hour march west of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/, where later on the chiefs of the Masai took up their permanent /8/ residence. The ones driven away went into the rugged forests of
[466] Meruberg, where they lived for a long time in constant strife with the Masai, until the chief Mbatyan completely subjugated them and forced them into compulsory service. Other battles took place near Ngurumán, north of Lake Natron; the rest of those conquered still live there, mixed with Wasegedju from nearby Sonjo. The
[361] remnants of the ones defeated in the Serengeti steppe are still to be found in Taveta, Kahe, Aruscha-tschini. The first battles between Masai and El kuafi probably took place in the vicinity of Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, and led to making the latter sedentary.

One of the last great clashes was in the steppe area Sogonoi; the ones conquered fled to Ngujuka and then farther to Useguha and Mañga, where they founded a settlement under the chief 'Lemá.

174 The Masai took a few individuals from among the defeated
184 into their community. The rest split up. One -- larger -- part
619 became sedentary and formed some colonies in the vicinity of
[361] foreign tribes or merged with other tribes. Another -- smaller --
[721] part at first made a living for a time from hunting, until it
[231] succeeded, by means of raids against sedentary peoples, in coming into the possession of livestock again. Today they again live
[101] wholly as before and are distinguished from the Masai only by

M 174 184 619 [101] [361]

/8 cont./ the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M [144]

In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people; in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D 174 M 174 184

A last group, finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is *the second branch of the Wanderóbo; the third and most recent,* the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M 634 635 [648]

Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called Es serehget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eñ gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Serehgeti- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

M [101]

M 192 101

1, [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

M /9 cont./
192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-
• 101 Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandoróbo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be called: ol opén l eñ gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
619 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after
184 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old bellicosity remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the
M Great Aruscha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very con-
[144] siderable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their
M imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in
[648] courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numerous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-
829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
[241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[231] each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of
[438] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
[731] again raged so destructively among their herds.

D While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
105 their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Aaá. Most of them, just like the El asiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

D 105 /9 cont./ dependency on them. A caravan traveling across the steppes certainly does not remain hidden from the Wandoróbo roaming about everywhere. /10/ Their betrayal soon causes it to fall victim to the spoils-hungry Masai. Through their poverty and the contemptible endeavor to make up for the lack of slaughter animals through the killing of game, the Wandoróbo, to be sure, stand especially low in the estimation of the Masai, yet the latter do not deny the connection with their old fellow tribesmen to the extent that they do not grant individual Wandoróbo, as well as El lumbus and El muli, admission into their community.

M [829] [179] In recent times those Masai who, after the loss of their live-
M 101 184 177 stock, have become detached from the larger community and live in small kraals in relative poverty, still generally reckon themselves as belonging to the El dorobbo, without, however, counting themselves within one of the three branches -- Ará, El aiti, El gasurek. Often they live together with a few Wakuafi, sometimes one also finds one or several Wandorobo families among them. Their property consists of a few cows and donkeys, a couple of goats and sheep. Since they cannot subsist on these, they also cultivate maize, batatas, etc. here and there and devote themselves to hunting with bow and arrow.

M 648 The influence that the Masai people exerted and still exert on the settled peoples who live on the borders of the steppes dominated by them for centuries is very great. Just as formerly it was the Wandoróbo, now it is the Wakuafi and Masai to whose influence the surrounding peoples must submit. What qualified
M [181] the Masai for this lordly position is their relatively high cultural level; what made possible their reaching this position, their strict organization and their war-mindedness. This is not the place to analyse why the culture of the Masai is a higher one than that of
000 individual Negroes surrounding them. It should only be pointed out that among almost all of these, in contrast to the former,

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1. The Masai give this name to the inhabitants of the Umbugwe area on the southern end of Lake Manjara.

during an attempted livestock raid.

861 The child is probably never beaten before it is at least two years old. But even at an older age beatings are very rare and then never cruel. Boxing the ears or blows on the head are generally forbidden because they might injure the health. If correction is necessary, [292] the mother -- and, to be sure, only she -- strikes the child rather lightly on the training surface with the belt that she wears after each confinement.

855 As soon as the children are weaned, they are left to themselves the whole day and, appear in the maternal hut only for eating, drinking, and sleeping. They develop rapidly, are lively, bright, and often quite pretty, if their faces are not marred by running eyes. The latter is very common, for the countless flies in the kraals prefer to settle on the nostrils and eyes of the children. It is only natural that they quickly lose their childish innocence, if one pictures the 857 life that surrounds them. There is a time, however, when they still 524 enjoy naiveté and amuse themselves with childish games. Little girls like to play with dolls or also "cooking." A foot-long fruit of the Kigelia aethiopica, similar to a liver sausage in appearance, is the doll. Sometimes it is carried on the back, sometimes held at the breast, then anointed with water or earth, in place of fat, or, with the assumption that it is crying, rocked in the arms or on the back. For cooking, they make themselves small clay pots out of the clay of the termite hills, place them on three small stones, and fill them with grass and leaves, which are supposed to represent their favorite foods. They also imitate the grinding of flour by rubbing seed between two stones. With the fruits of the Solanum campylacanthum they play at catch in twos or by turns, whereby the one who drops the "ball" must let the other drink a couple of swallows of milk out of his gourd bottle. Boys and girls also play "husband and wife"

/117 cont./

186 unbelievers, every trick, every deception is permitted against them.
[101] In particular other names exist for distinctions. For the tribes racially related to them these names are derived from their places of residence, in connection with which it is to be noted that for these the Masai have their own nomenclature. For Europeans he uses the 3 sinágo derived or transformed from the Kiswahili. Finally, he calls the Negroes ol maásai (sing. ol maásinde), which is to be translated appropriately with "the savages" and corresponds to the word Washensi with which coast the people designate the Negroes of the interior.

181 The first impression which the Masai, in comparison with the Negroes, makes on the European is definitely very much to his advantage. The handsome, tall figures are charming in themselves from the first and often make haughtiness and insolence appear as pride and candor, which stand in pleasant contrast to the hypocritically flaunted, groveling submission of the Negroes.

829 A certain distinction is really not to be denied the Masai. In this respect he stand high above the average Negro. It is significant that for him only the thrusting weapon -- spear and sword -- is regarded as worthy of a Nego. He has a profound contempt for the Nego hands shooting with poisoned arrows treacherously from the bush, whereas he judges this situation more leniently in connection with the Tsonga in the process of sharp decline, who are able to muster only very meager fighting forces. He therefore also condones the use of guns, at least in part, by the divisions, numerically weak, of the Protectorate Troops. It seems to him justified against the poisoned arrows, but he does not by any means regard it as noble and decent compared with his thrusting weapons. Thus, a small Masai youth, who was in my service for several years as a boy, often reproached me in the aforesaid way.

1b Merker--MS C-5 (1898-ca.1908) 1931 PLS Maasi PLS
Bm/1
Describe PLS
Ans

/III/ Third Part

I.

The Wandoëbbe of the three branches of the Maasi people.

The customs of the Wakuafi are in general identical with those of the Maasi, and where a slight difference appears in one or another of their colonies, it is to be traced back solely to the influence of the neighboring sedentary Negro tribes. Such deviations are therefore not peculiar to the Maasi people as a whole, and a discussion of them would go beyond the compass of the present study. On the other hand, it is necessary to go into more detail on the customs and practices of the Wandoëbbe belonging to the Maasi people, who, in their racial exclusiveness, have maintained themselves quite without foreign admixture (1).

1. With the exception of such by the Taruga, a tribe anthropologically very close to the Maasi people.

and to present the differences shown by a comparison with the customs of the Maasi, as well as to substantiate the correspondence in the main points.

We have seen that members of all three branches of the Maasi people fall under this name (2).

2. In what follows nothing will be said about the Wandoëbbe not belonging to the Maasi people, who are men, mixed with Taruga and Maasi, as remnants of an extinct Semitic people -- who embraced the sun cult.

The And sun from the oldest epoch, the El sun from the middle one, and the El gamaxis from the most recent one (3).

3. The other designations with which the Wandoëbbe of the individual districts name themselves have geographical meaning.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL-12 Maps) FL-12

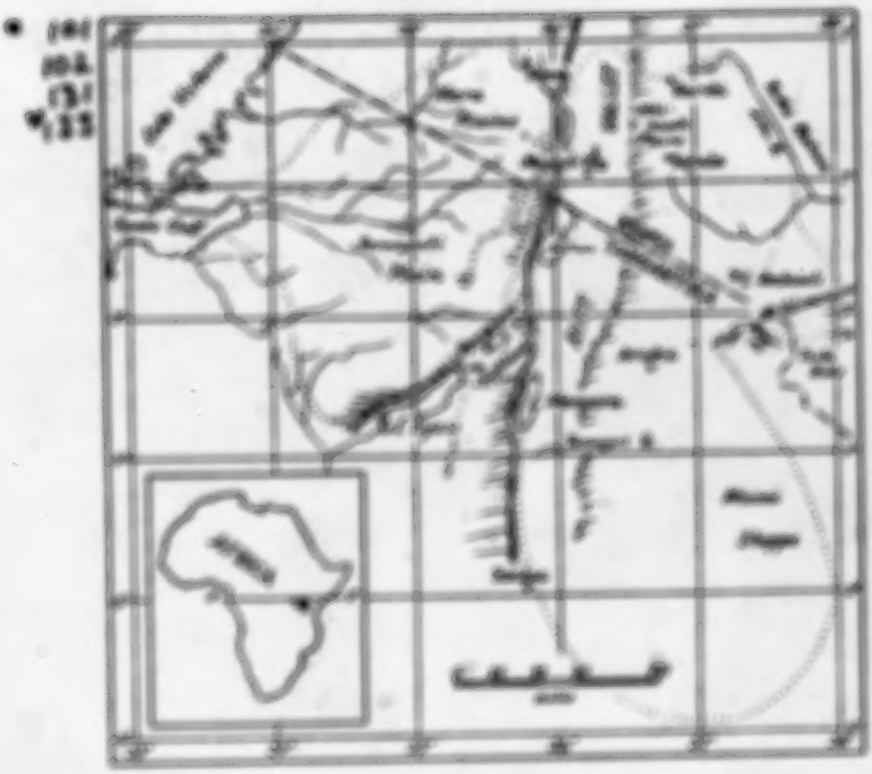

Figure 1. Mountains. The Western Rift of the Rift Valley
Divides Western Mountains from Eastern Mountains.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

INTRODUCTION

Within the past century the grassland ecosystems of Africa have been as much altered as those of the rest of the world. The assemblages of plains wildlife of which Roosevelt (1910) wrote in such wonder have now almost disappeared. One area, however, has remained largely unaffected by "progress."

The Serengeti-Mara region covers some 30,000 square miles of open or wooded plains land, rolling hills and flat plateau, lying across the Kenya-Tanganyika border just east of Lake Victoria. Most of the region lies in Western Masailand, and much of the part outside the Masai land unit is in Tanganyika's Serengeti National Park.

Topographically Western Masailand is well protected. The Great Rift Valley forms the eastern boundary of this region, and on the south the Rift plus the Ngorongoro Highlands provide a barrier. The north is protected by the Mau Escarpment, and on the west the Nzoia Escarpment and Lake Victoria form a discontinuous but effective boundary (Fig. 1).

The Masai tribe has provided the other major protection. Before the White Man arrived -- but only just

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

before -- the Masai tribe occupied what is now Western Masailand by conquering and evicting the previous residents (Grant, 1957). The Masai were a fierce and warlike people. Once they had taken over that country no one seriously disputed it with them.

In the early 1900's through the Government of Kenya the Masai made a treaty directly with the Queen of England. This involved re-settling a segment of the Kenya Masai, but the long term effect was to put the Kenya Masai in a privileged position relative to the other tribes -- who did not have such a treaty -- and to give them a degree of autonomy virtually unknown in other parts of Kenya. Because of their remote location and the nature of the Tanganyika Administration, the Masai in the Tanganyika portion of Western Masailand also maintained a large degree of autonomy. Aided by these circumstances, the extremely conservative western Masai have kept largely to themselves, and to an extraordinary degree the modern world has gone on around them, instead of over them and through their country.

My first visit to the Serengeti-Mara Region was in 1956. I had been assigned to carry out a brief ecological reconnaissance of the Serengeti National Park under the sponsorship of the Wildlife Management Institute and the American Committee for International Wild Life Protection (Talbot, 1956).

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

PRESENTATION AND DEFINITIONS

128 An ecological study is difficult to organize for presentation, since all the component parts are interrelated. The problem is to find a starting point. This difficulty is emphasized in a study so broad as this one. The form that has been adopted is as follows:

1. To provide a general description of the area and its significance to this type of study.

2. To describe, in turn, the various component parts of the ecosystem, treating each component separately but defining its relationships with the other components.

3. To bring the components together with a discussion of the nature of the ecosystem and its structural implications.

Methods used in the field collection of data are usually described where appropriate in the text. The basic methods that apply to the entire study, however, do not belong in any one section, and these are described in the chapter on Compilation of Data.

● 130 [illegible] Kwenland is the term commonly used in East 131 Africa to denote the Masai administrative land unit, which includes about 10,000 square miles in Kenya and 9136 over 15,000 square miles in Tanganyika. The term 9137

Rwelland that to the west of the top of the western escarpment of the Rift.

The boundaries of Western Rwelland, as the term is used here, are ecological and not political (Fig. 1). In Kenya, the Masai land unit includes much of the southern face of the Mau escarpment, a forested massif rising 4,000 to 5,000 feet above the Masai plains. Ecologically, much of the higher Mau forest area does not belong to the present discussion and it is not included. The same is true of part of the Nguruman Highlands in Tanganyika, and some of the administrative Rwelland in Kenya above the Rift Escarpment.

Included within Western Rwelling is the Serengeti National Park in Tanganyika and the western environs (Fig.2). Politically this area is not at present in the Masai land unit, but from the standpoints of physiography and ecology it is homologous with the adjoining Masai land unit.

The Serengeti-Mara Plains region refers to non-mountainous parts of Western Rwelland. Although neither a plain, nor a plateau in the strictest geographical sense (Tendall, Glendinning and Huffaker, 1951), this area is relatively flat and takes its name from the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 11a]

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Mount FL12

Figure 1. Physical Map of Eastern Australia.

19: Talbot K-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

19b

Serengeti Plain of Tanganyika and the Mara Plains of Kenya. The region includes these areas, plus the homologous habitat between and around them, and covers around 12,000 square miles.

The study area included the plains region and its surroundings in order to define the boundaries of the ecological unit. The total area studied covered roughly 20,000 square miles.

I have used the term grassland in a very broad sense. Within the climatic and edaphic ranges of grass (which includes much of the world), virtually all areas are grasslands or potential grasslands. Grasses and associated forbs provide the larger part both of the food for the wild and domestic grassland animals, and of the fuel for the fires. By manipulation of fire, grazing, and other factors the grass composition and vegetation physiognomy of a given area may be altered considerably; but within that area the maximum biological productivity appears to be achieved by a given combination of grasses. This combination represents a response to the various factors in the ecosystem, and it is constant in a given area, while varying from area to area, as do various factors in the ecosystem. Tussock islands in the dominant grass of some grassland ecosystems in

137 is now open grassland in the Serengeti Plain. The region of Olduvai, Lake Lgarya, the various groups of kopjes, and the Ol Donjo Gol Mountains (in the east between the Serengeti and Selai Plains) were all well wooded from present evidence and Masai occupancy. The numerous watercourses in the open plains also must have had at least an open woodland within them. There are still stumps and occasional trees in all these areas. In 1956 there were open lines of trees in watercourses in the eastern Serengeti Plain where by 1960 all were gone.

137 104 To the north the Masai occupied the Loita Plateau and the Loita Plain. The plateau and the hills to the north were called by the Masai Oosbogo le Loita or Oosbogo le Loitai (German East Africa, Ikoma A 4) which means rain forest of the Loita, just as the Ngorongoro Highlands were known as Oosbogo le Datas, rain forest of the Datas (Grant, 1957). Relics of broad leaf forest still exist on the plateau and hills, along with what is left of a cedar forest. Much of the Loita Plain was probably open grassland, but the cedar forest extended far out into it in the north and open or closed woodland existed in many parts.

134 137 The area to the west, including the Mara Plains and Tanganyika south to the Serengeti Plain was not infested

[137] [136] by tsetse fly -- so must have been relatively open.

[101] [231] [233] 1830-1890: This appears to have been a period of increased burning, expansion of the Masai into the lands north of the Serengeti up to the Mara Plains, and increasing numbers of livestock. The open grasslands reached their greatest extent during this period, and the area between the Serengeti Plain and the Mara became open grassland with riverine forest and scattered thickets, much like the present southern Mara Plains (Fig. 79a).

[134] [137] [101] The Masai apparently extended their grazing and particularly burning far up into the Mau Escarpment. Spectacular erosion can be seen over much of the Mau Escarpment north and east of the Loita Plain. Virtually no top soil can be seen over hundreds of square miles at the lower elevations, and where some does remain it may be 10 to 14 feet above the present ground level, on top of a pedestal of earth held against erosion by the roots of a few surviving cedar trees. Trees growing in the bottom of these erosion scars in 1960 were dated as being 50 to 60 years old which would put the period of recovery in the late 1800's at or after [101] the disasters of the Masai. During the period of dry years culminating in 1961 the Masai extended their

#134 #137 [101] burning and grazing far up into the same area of the forest, and the torrential rains that followed the dry period in 1961 created new erosion scars of as great magnitude as those of the earlier period.

#13 #235 [731] At the peak of the power of the Masai in the 1880's they had very large numbers of livestock. Their peak of intensity of livestock grazing, and probably overgrazing, came at the onset of the droughts which culminated in the famine of 1890. Conditions may have been much the same as in 1961. The effect of grazing animals on the vegetation, as well as the impact of fires where there was fuel, probably reached a peak about 1890. It is probable that a brush invasion through overgrazing was already starting in some of the open grassland.

[101] 1890-1918: The result of the combination of disasters that struck the Masai in the 1890's was that they largely vacated the Serengeti Plain and the country to the north all the way to the Lolto Plain. There was a period of about 15 years of very much reduced grazing by domestic livestock and apparently reduced grass burning, and for part of this period there was probably almost no regular grazing or burning. This was

*13 A233 a period of increase in woody growth. The area was still burned on occasion by the Wanderobo. In 1906 when Jaeger visited it the boundaries of the open Serengeti Plain were wider than now, and the country to the north was still largely open. As the bush increased the tsetse flies moved in from the infested areas south and west. Figure 27 A shows the spread of the fly during this period.

[See p. 194.--Analyst]

[(a)] 1918-1962: After the first world war the Masai were allowed and encouraged to re-occupy Western Masailand. Burning and grazing were continued, but grazing was limited by the tsetse fly which continued to spread north. The effect of the frequent burning was apparently to stabilize the invading woody growth in the areas occupied by tsetse fly. From the 1920's to the present the general aspect of the bush country between the Mara and the Serengeti Plain has little changed. Examination of it shows clearly the stages that preceded the present stage.

137 B Figure 88 is a general view south into the bush country of northern Tanganyika adjacent to the Mara Plains. During the Masai occupation prior to 1920 the burning and grazing restricted woody vegetation to riverine forests and scattered thickets, with occasional areas of open woodland. Then Whistling Thorn and other

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 410]